PRESS AND RADIO CONFERENCES

OF

—

THE PRESIDENT

1944 -- JULY 1 THROUGH DECEMBER 31

J. Romagna (PCs 960 to 985)
OFFICIAL REPORTER

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #960
Executive Office of the President
July 7, 1944 -- 11.01 A.M., E.W.T.

(Jim Wright of the Buffalo News sat down on one of the three chairs on the left of the President's desk)

THE PRESIDENT: (to May Craig) All packed?

MR. EARLY: May, why don't you get in the middle? (she sat down on the middle chair, and Earl Godwin on the third)

THE PRESIDENT: Now, isn't that nice? Isn't that nice? (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: All right.

THE PRESIDENT: What they call "last honors." (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: No!

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) Oh--oh. Getting everybody seated? It's all right.

MAY CRAIG: The old folks.

MR. GODWIN: Old age.

MAY CRAIG: The mourners' bench. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (in a half-whisper) I think I might announce that if they will look at the front row they will see what I shall call in the White House "the old people's home." (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Old people's home!

THE PRESIDENT: (to May Craig) Are you all

fixed up?

MAY CRAIG: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Good -- good. Grand.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I was talking to Steve, and we have been trying to dig up something that could be called news, but there isn't anything at all. The next thing will be the monthly submarine statement, in about three days. (to Mr. Early): The tenth?

MR. EARLY: The tenth, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Outside of that, we are completely blank. And it's going to be a hot day -- (pause) -- so don't overwork. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, is -- have plans progressed to the point where you can tell us whether or not you plan to make a statement prior to the Democratic Convention?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't the faintest idea. I haven't thought of it.

Q. (aside) What was that?

Q. Mr. President, have you found a candidate for vice president yet?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that sounds like an unfriendly question. I won't answer it. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, how is the war going in China?

THE PRESIDENT: Not well. We are a good deal concerned about the war in China.

Q. In what way, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they don't seem to be stopping these Japanese advances.

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, in -- on that line, the Chinese Ministry of Information, through their New York offices, got out a long statement yesterday discussing this thing, and they had in it the view -- rather optimistic view, and peculiarly Chinese -- that the deeper Japan got into this, call it the China quagmire on the thing, in a global way, the Japanese were worse off; that is, attracting a great deal of the Japanese force into the mainland of China, leaving their homeland open. In brief, that was it. Is that a Chinese idea or has that been, would you say ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No. I would say that that was a strategic thought that could be talked about by anybody who knew anything about strategy. Of course, it is perfectly true that they are very much extended from the military, and naval, and shipping point of view.

MR. GODWIN: The Japs?

THE PRESIDENT: The Japs are.

MR. GODWIN: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Way down, all in the Dutch Indies, they are clear over through the Straits Settlements and Burma, and it means that their line of communications is dangerously long, unless they are sure of being able to maintain it.

Now, in the past -- in the past year, we have been threatening their line of communications all the time with these offensives; and so far we have, as you know, we have

got up as far as Saipan; and also, so far, you know that there we have sunk a great many Japanese ships -- both the naval ships, but especially the cargo ships. And as we knew, relatively, what they had in the way of a merchant marine at the beginning of the war, and we know, again relatively, what they have been able to build each year since the war, we feel that their merchant ship losses are greater than they have been able to replace.

And it may be wishful thinking, but we like to believe that they are having difficulty in getting raw materials a long distance over the water -- oil from the Dutch Indies, for example -- and are having difficulty in getting their replacements and equipment from Japan down to those distant points.

Of course, you can look on the map, it's a tremendous territory, a great many miles, but they have -- that they have gone south from Japan; and also, having got there, it is a long, long distance from the -- well, say the Solomons, clear over through New Guinea and the Celebes and the Dutch islands, Borneo, Philippines, clear on to Indo-China, Siam, the Strait Settlements, and Burma. It's tremendous territory to keep the supplies going, and get the supplies out of them back to Japan.

And so the -- personally, it has always been my thought that the Japanese strategic situation is not a good one -- never has been. But we are concerned, because they -- the distance from Japan to China is not very great, and they

have been able to put together forces in there and supply them. They have bitten in pretty deeply into the Chinese mainland, and we are hoping that the Chinese will, because of the depth in there, be able to resist more strongly, the further the Japs go. That's about all there is to it.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, an American Army chemical engineer also reported that the Japs have used gas against the Chinese. Has an official recommendation or ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I haven't -- I haven't heard anything. The last I heard was prior to what you are talking about, that some of our Army people were investigating the report. And I read last night that it had been. I haven't heard anything more from the War Department.

Q. Mr. President, as head of the Democratic Party, have you got any ideas on what the platform should contain, or how long it should be?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I'm not writing any platform.

Q. You are not?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

MAY CRAIG: Mr. President, would you care to say whether or not you think Governor Dewey will be a strong opponent?

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) No, May. (laughter)

Q. (aside) That's a good word.

THE PRESIDENT: You know -- you know, May, what I am wondering about, I am -- I am taking it that you have

gotten down a few notes in the White House Correspondents' Association just -- just for history. And in these notes I would like to have it accurate, so far as possible, as to the procedure, the methods. And I would very much like to have for those notes some suggestion from you -- perhaps you will tell me outright as news, because it will be news forty or fifty years from now -- how do you people work out this method at these press conferences? (laughter) Do you draw lots? (more laughter)

I thought there was -- there was some young man, I didn't remember very well, the other day, over here on the right -- (indicating) -- that asked me that same type of question. Practically the same thing. (more laughter) Now, how did they choose him? (more laughter)

Now, today, how did they pick on you? (continued laughter)

It really -- it's a matter of great historic interest to know the procedure in these -- in the White House Correspondents' Association.

MAY CRAIG: Well, that's a secret process.

THE PRESIDENT: Is it? (more laughter) I see.

MERRIMAN SMITH: It's part of the great plan, sir. (continued laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I won't -- I won't ask any more questions.

Q. Mr. President, May is always a volunteer -- she's never drafted.

MAY CRAIG: Mr. President, did you mean that you didn't want to answer the question? (loud laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: What was the name of the -- Pollyanna, wasn't it? Cheerful little girl. That's it. No, -- (then in a whisper): I didn't want to answer the question.

Q. Mr. President, when do you think we will get an answer to this type of question? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I don't know. I should say probably around November. (continued laughter) Or even -- even before that. Maybe this month.

Q. (aside) There we go again.

THE PRESIDENT: I would hate -- I would hate to speculate on it.

JIM WRIGHT: Mr. President, if we may go back to that Chinese situation where you -- when you started in, you were talking about the seriousness that -- serious condition we would face, if the Japs succeeded in rolling up the coast of China. I thought you were going to talk to us for a moment on what it would do to our attempt to build a road across the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Again, it's a perfectly -- it's just a question of looking at the atlas, really, Jim.

JIM WRIGHT: Yes, but I don't believe the American people, generally, realize how much the coast of China has been counted on for the attacks on Japan proper, and it seems to me that if you wanted to discuss that a little bit ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, of course, the more the Chinese can hold eastern China, down around the coast, the better it is. But of course, on the other hand, with the use of modern bombing, we are today within bombing range of Japan, which is very definitely something. If we -- if the Chinese had lost the eastern coast a year ago, it would have been a far more serious thing than if they should lose it today.

MR. GODWIN: Well, we are -- the bombing that you are speaking of is from the Pacific, is it not, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) -- and will get closer and closer?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. We are about -- what is it? -- twelve to thirteen hundred miles from Japan now.

MR. GODWIN: Yes. The Japanese mainland, if it should be entirely rolled up or taken over by the Japanese, means almost another major war -- military operation, does it not?

THE PRESIDENT: You mean the Chinese mainland?

MR. GODWIN: Yes. The Chinese mainland.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, of course. What you have to think of is the tremendous territory ---

MR. GODWIN: (interposing) Tremendous territory. Pretty near as big as half the United States, that one corner is.

THE PRESIDENT: That's it. That's it.

MR. GODWIN: As Jim says, I don't think the American people have any idea ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I think that's perfectly true. We have had -- the Chinese (meaning Japanese) have had spots along that whole Chinese coast -- that different one; or to the -- to the northeast, somewhere else, they have half a dozen spots -- given places. The next year, they have half a dozen other different spots. They have lost what they have, and they have gone to other places. It might be called an occupation of movement, ---

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- not a campaign of movement but an occupation of movement.

PETE BRANDT: Mr. President, can you tell us about the intended scope of your talks with General de Gaulle?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, all kinds of things, Pete. We haven't got any agenda. Talking about a great many things. Well, for instance, I will talk to him today about the operations of the underground, which are -- within France, a great deal of it down in southern France. We have a good deal of information from our own sources. We will compare notes about that. I can't think of anything else. It's an absolutely open -- wide open thing. Anything that's of interest.

Q. Well, Mr. President, recognition come in?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. The question of recognition of the National Committee come in?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. That has not come in.

THE PRESIDENT: No. That didn't come in. That didn't come in in London, either.

MR. GODWIN: It is presumed, or are you taking up with him the matter of the governing of these liberated areas as they are liberated? Does that enter into it?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that probably will. We will talk it over in a perfectly friendly way, and work out various problems.

Of course, so many people get the wrong slant. What is a liberated area? Well, we are in France now -- and the British are in France now -- a little toe-hold, I think about one-tenth of one percent of France, something like that, whose army -- soldiers are all over that one-tenth of one percent. Obviously, of course, it's a -- a military zone. We are going into Cherbourg to open it up to ships, with unloading and transportation, and so forth and so on. It's a military operation.

And when you come down to the -- to the civilian question, it is essentially that part of France, as our armies advance, which ceases to be a military zone and becomes a civilian zone.

I think some people don't think the thing through. They are very apt to say that if we capture a -- a village from the French on a Monday morning it becomes a civilian zone. Well, they don't do it, because we might get thrown

out by the Germans by Monday night, and therefore it wouldn't be a sensible thing to do. It isn't an operating -- it's an operating military zone, and not yet a civilian zone.

Q. Mr. President, what are the De Gaullist representatives doing in France at the present time? Are they wielding a certain amount of authority, or are they simply observers, you might say, like ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Acting as liaison officers.

Q. Liaison officers?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Perfectly friendly cooperation.

Q. (aside) Go ahead, Merriman.

MERRIMAN SMITH: Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #961
Executive Office of the President
(Tuesday) July 11, 1944, at 11.07 A.M., E.W.T.

(99 newspapermen and women were present at this press conference)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have taken a -- you will want to know something about De Gaulle -- I took from a memorandum a third person thing, which I think makes the situation fairly clear -- as a result of the talks -- that the President is prepared, pending the free selection of a government by French people, to accept the Comité as the de facto authority for the civil administration of France -- semi-colon; General Eisenhower remaining as Supreme Allied Commander, with clear-cut authority to cause to be taken all steps -- that means all-inclusive -- which in his judgment are necessary to finish the military operations and to drive the Germans from French soil.

In other words, the location of civil administration, certain areas which are non-military areas, will be determined solely by General Eisenhower.

And in this respect we are prepared to use as a base -- the basis, the drafts that have been worked up by certain French and British officials. That will take some time, because it's a question of drafting.

There seems to be complete accord, and we are therefore proceeding on that line.

Can't think of anything else on the De Gaulle end of things.

Q. Does that mean, sir, that this Government will sign a British-French agreement?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. We are using it as a basis for re-drafting.

Q. Thank you.

Q. Will we sign an agreement with the French, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Memorandum, probably.

Q. Memorandum. Just an exchange?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us something about your visit yesterday with the Foreign Minister of Mexico (Ezequiel Padilla)?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I had a very excellent meeting with him -- the second meeting I have had. There have been, of course, a number of things which he has been working on with the State Department; and I think things are going along very well. There isn't very much news in it, one way or the other.

Q. Is there anything you could say about special problems, or any continuation of the talks at Monterrey?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think so. I think about the only thing I can think of is that they are proceeding. Everything is going all right on that.

Q. Is there any comment, sir, you can make on the press conference statement of Mr. Padilla that if asked

Mexico would be glad to send troops to the front?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I am allowed to say that. I think that is a -- purely a military matter.

Q. Mr. President, getting back to the French, will -- will these memos be confined merely to metropolitan France, or do you go in ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No, no, ---

Q. (continuing) --- to the French Empire?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- just metropolitan France.

Q. Metropolitan France?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Mr. President, what would be the difference, if any, between the memorandum you speak of, and an agreement?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I don't know. That's a technicality that needn't worry any of us. What is the difference? I don't know. The question ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is the text of the memorandum which you read available?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Is the text of the memorandum which you read available for ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No. I suppose the State Department has the -- the tentative thing, which was done in London, and that is the ---

MR. EARLY: (interposing) The text of this memorandum ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) What?

MR. EARLY: (continuing) --- he refers to the memorandum you just read, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: No, because it isn't -- it isn't in shape.

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) That's right.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I just used that as the basis of -- of unprepared conversation.

Q. Mr. President, the United States has no objections to General de Gaulle's plans to move the capital to -- from Algiers to metropolitan France as soon as possible?

THE PRESIDENT: I read it in the papers this morning. The first I heard about it.

Q. Mr. President, what is the next step, now that we are negotiating these -- these agreements and memoranda?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes?

Q. Any formalizing of your understanding with General de Gaulle, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- or is there any objective you are shooting at?

THE PRESIDENT: It isn't yet formalized. That is why I used "memorandum" instead of agreement.

Q. You are just drafting the memorandum?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Mr. President, could it be said there are not any differences left; that is, the -- all the difficulties have

been solved or taken care of?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if you will put a time limit on that question, I would say Yes. In other words, all problems of the -- of the actual fighting for the liberation of France, I think under this, are pretty well taken care of.

Q. Mr. President, could you clarify a little bit the distinction between military areas and those which have already been liberated, so far as ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) None of them has been liberated as -- as yet, except in the latest situation. About one-tenth of one percent of French territory has been occupied by British and American armies. Obviously, there can't be a civil administration in that area. You have got to get away from the fighting. Lines of supply have got to be guarded -- protected.

Q. Mr. President, is there any reason why we should not have a transcript of what you said in that first paragraph explaining this, to be used as a direct quote?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's for your information.

MR. EARLY: They could refer to Jack's notes, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: All right.

Q. Mr. President, if you would check back -- General Eisenhower will have the authority to determine what is a civilian area?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. After we have moved in, it will be up to Eisenhower personally to say where.

Obviously, the military has got to decide that, as the further he goes, the further his line of supplies.

Q. Mr. President, does this step now give General de Gaulle authority to issue currency in the name of the government of France?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that is -- I would rather -- I would rather give you something for background on this, because it is -- it is just one of "them" things.

The present French currency that they have been using over the most of France is the old French currency that has been issued from the printing presses under the domination of the Germans; and that has been going on for four years. And nobody has -- the French haven't -- we haven't, and the British haven't -- any idea of how much of it is out. The printing presses may have been running just by day; they may have been running by day and night. Nobody knows how much of that currency is outstanding.

And we have issued currency, purely temporary currency, for the use of the troops -- it's a small percentage of their pay -- to buy a package of -- I was going to say cigarettes, but some districts haven't got any cigarettes -- buy a glass of beer, if they have any, keeping it down to the minimum. That is being used in the very small area that the troops are in, and it is being -- it is being taken.

We are still talking about the advisability of issuing a brand-new Committee currency -- National Committee. I -- I assume a great many people think it would be easier to issue

a temporary National Committee currency than to expand the issue of this temporary currency which the troops are using. So that still -- I don't think it has been decided, but there is no particular reason why -- why the Committee should not issue a -- a temporary currency which would be interchangeable with ours.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, from a purely diplomatic point of view, does what you said indicate that we now regard the De Gaulle group as the provisional government of France, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No, ---

Q. (continuing) --- rather than the French Committee of Liberation?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) -- I didn't say anything to that effect.

Q. Mr. President, does your understanding with De Gaulle mean now that General Eisenhower is no longer free to deal with any other French authorities outside of the Committee?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, No. Let -- let me give you an illustration -- which will probably clear it up in the simplest way.

Suppose there is a community which is going -- a town which is going to -- into a civil area. The French Committee will appear before General Eisenhower's committee -- he has a committee handling this, British, French and American -- and suggest the name of somebody who looks all right to go in there; and in all probability some other people might want

to suggest names. They have complete freedom to suggest other names of -- what is it? -- a temporary mayor. On the doctrine of the chance that these people are all right, the Committee's selection will go through.

Suppose there was an awful row in that town after he went in. Peace, and absence of any violence would be, of course, necessary. If he didn't work out, someone would have to get somebody better to maintain peace and avoid riots, and so forth and so on. General Eisenhower, because he is responsible for the safety of his rear has the authority, of course, to put in somebody who would maintain peace, the same way as he would have the right to put in troops to maintain peace. It's a very -- it's a very simple proposition. The military element is of course paramount, because we want peace in France, not just throwing the Germans out.

(laughing) Does that answer the question?

Q. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. President, ---

PETE BRANDT: (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, can you tell us ---

PETE BRANDT: (continuing) --- what happened to the frozen French gold under that? Does that remain ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Pete, we didn't even mention gold.

PETE BRANDT: Those credits that are frozen?

THE PRESIDENT: I know nothing about it.

Q. Mr. President, was your phrase "the de facto

authority"?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Was the -- in the memorandum that you read to us at first, was the phrase "de facto authority of the government of France"?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What -- what?

Q. Excuse me, I didn't ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Don't say "Thank you, Mr. President," because the doors are closed and you can't get out. (laughter)

Q. I wasn't going to say "thank you." Why are they locked, sir? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I have got something else! (more laughter)

Q. Is it an announcement about your fourth term intentions, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you can't tell. You are guessing again. You have done it before. This time -- this time you are right. (continued laughter)

Q. Good.

THE PRESIDENT: Did you hear that? (continued laughter)

Q. Mr. President, if this is going to be good enough to lock the doors, will you take it a little slow?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. You will get it when you get

out. One reason for closing the doors is that I am very much interested in the preservation of human life. I am really interested in cutting down accidents in this country, and if this group in this room all beat it to the door at the same time, probably somebody would get hurt. (laughter)

You go ahead. You had anything else?

Q. No, sir. You go ahead. (loud laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there are two letters here, one that I got yesterday from Hannegan. (to Mr. Early): Have you got these things ready for them?

MR. EARLY: They are ready, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: All right then. You won't have to take notes.

(reading): "Dear Mr. President. As Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, it is my duty on behalf of the Committee to present for its consideration a temporary roll of the delegates for the National Convention, which will convene in Chicago on July 19, 1944.

"The National Committee has received from the State officials of the Democratic Party certification of the action of the State conventions, and the primaries in those States, which select delegates in that manner.

"Based on these official certifications to the National Committee, I desire to report to you that more than a clear majority ----- "

Wait a minute, I want a cigarette. (laughter) Unfortunately, this is not a Murad. (more laughter) (Mr.

Early lighted it for him)

Q. Take your time, Mr. President, we are in no hurry. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: What's the word? -- nonchalance? (giving it the French pronunciation)

Q. Clear majority.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing reading): " ----- clear majority of the delegates to the National Convention are legally bound by the action of their constituents to cast their ballots for your nomination as President. This action in the several States is a reflection ---

Q. (interjecting) Louder.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- of the wishes of the vast majority of the American people that you continue as President in this crucial period in the nation's history.

"I feel, therefore, Mr. President, that it is my duty as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee to report to you the fact that the National Convention will during its deliberations in Chicago tender to you the nomination of the Party, as it is the solemn belief of the rank and file of Democrats, as well as many other Americans, that the nation and the world need the continuation of your leadership.

"In view of the foregoing, I would respectfully request that you send to the Convention or otherwise convey to the people of the United States an expression that you will again respond to the call of the Party and the people. I am confident that the people recognize the tremendous burdens

of your office, but I am equally confident that they are determined that you must continue until the war is won and a firm basis for an abiding peace among men is established. Respectfully, Robert E. Hannegan."

And then I dictated this last night. It's rather hurried -- about the same length.

(reading): "Dear Mr. Hannegan. You have written me that in accordance with the records a majority of the delegates have been directed to vote for my renomination for the office of President, and I feel that I owe to you, in candor, a simple statement of my position.

"If the Convention should carry this out, and nominate me for the Presidency, I shall accept. If the people elect me, I will serve.

"Every one of our sons serving in this war has officers from whom he takes his orders. Such officers have superior officers. The President is the Commander-in-Chief and he, too, has his superior officer -- the people of the United States.

"I would accept and serve, but I would not run, in the usual partisan, political sense. But if the people command me to continue in this office and in this war, I have as little right to withdraw as the soldier has to leave his post in the line.

"At the same time, I think I have a right to say to you and to the delegates of the coming Convention something which is personal -- purely personal.

"For myself, I do not want to run. By next spring,

I shall have been President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces for twelve years -- three times elected by the people of this country under the American constitutional system.

"From the personal point of view, I believe that our economic system is on a sounder, more human basis than it was at the time of my first Inauguration.

"It is perhaps unnecessary to say that I have thought only of the good of the American people. My principal objective, as you know, has been the protection of the rights and privileges and fortunes of what has been so well called the average of American citizens.

"After many years of public service, therefore, my personal thoughts have turned to the day when I could return to civil life. All that is within me cries out to go back to my home on the Hudson River, to avoid public responsibilities, and to avoid also the publicity which in our democracy follows every step of the Nation's Chief Executive.

"Such would be my choice. But we of this generation chance to live in a day and hour when our Nation has been attacked, and when its future existence and the future existence of our chosen method of government are at stake.

"To win this war wholeheartedly, unequivocally and as quickly as we can is our task of the first importance. To win this war in such a way that there will be -- that there will be no further world wars in the foreseeable future is our second objective. To provide occupations, and to provide a decent standard of living for our men in the Armed Forces after the

war, and for all Americans, are the final objectives.

"Therefore, reluctantly, but as a good soldier, I repeat that I will accept and serve in this office, if I am so ordered by the Commander-in-Chief of us all -- the sovereign people of the United States."

And that's that. And now, if you will go out quietly -- (laughter) ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, there is one more question. What about your talk with Vice President Wallace yesterday? Did that have any ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No ---

Q. (continuing) --- bearing ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- No. Talked about China. Now get out! (much laughter)

Q. (hurriedly) Thank you.

(Notebook PC-19 -- Page 45 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #962
At Waikiki, Honolulu, T. H.
July 29, 1944 -- at 4.45 p.m.

Q. All in, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I just want to say what a pipe dream this has been. Greatest sight in the world. Think of the people who would like to change places with you.

Q. What can you tell us of your visit here, your trip, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I have had quite a full three days. Accomplished a great deal. I don't know what the release date on this will be -- some time in the future. I have seen many things here. Where I am going, I cannot tell you. When I am to get back, I cannot tell you. And where I am going on my return, I don't know. That's a lot of good news, and it can't be released until I am ready. So you see, you have an awful lot of information.

Q. Mr. President, at that time -- on this H Day -- this distant future, do you plan to report to the American people on this future date, say within the next six months, or shall I say soon?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, soon. I have had important conferences. I can't tell you much about them now, of course, but I shall report on them in time. I have had an extremely successful three days. By coincidence, I think it was exactly ten years to the day since my previous visit.

Of course, I find many changes here on the

military and naval front -- on the service front. I never imagined any place could change as much as the Island of Oahu has -- change as much as this place has. Today, city-occupied land extends right up to the military and naval areas. The city has gone to the military and naval areas, where a few years ago the military and navy had to go to the city. There are small communities all over the island. Land is scarce, instead of being plentiful.

One other thing I noticed. Two and one-half years ago -- December, 1941 -- I got from the Islands a whole great flood of telegrams asking me to please send food right away. They thought everybody in the Islands was going to starve. They were asking for food. I said, "I am frightfully sorry. I haven't got any food to send you. Haven't got any ships to send it in if I had it."

So I made the very simple recommendation: grow more. And the Islands have grown more. As for the necessities of life, they have been forced to solve their own problem. They have solved it, and they have helped, too, by not demanding everything from the continent. And I don't notice that anybody has starved. They've done a good job, and done it out here.

Q. Mr. President, could you -- say to help our stories -- describe the purpose of your visit to the Hawaiian Islands?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as I remember, one of the objects of the trip was to look this place over. This is no longer the outpost of our defense. A few years ago it was. We

weren't allowed to fortify Guam. Today the outermost points of our defense line are thousands of miles to the westward. Hawaii is still the main distributing point, but not the outpost. It is our main depot nearest to where we are meeting the enemy in the Pacific.

The other thing that we have talked about, of course, is the strategic question. I have had two very successful days with Nimitz, MacArthur and Leahy, talking about future plans. It's perfectly obvious that any operation has to be planned ahead. You've seen that -- seen about a particular operation. And you'll remember that that particular operation was talked about, and the logistics of it talked about, for many, many months before. We've had several conferences on different questions. Of course, I cannot go into more details than that.

Q. Within the limits of security, can you tell if these conferences involved any new offensives against Japan?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Soon, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: They have been continuing in fairly regular progress in the last year, and now that we have the offensive we shall keep it.

Q. Is there anything you can tell us about the German situation?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I know anything more about it than you do.

Q. Do you think from what we know about the general situation that it might become an internal situation?

THE PRESIDENT: That is too general a question. We can all have our own ideas about it.

Q. Do you have any plans at this time for any future meeting with Mr. Churchill in the Pacific?

THE PRESIDENT: Where? What kind of meeting?

Q. A conference with Mr. Churchill in particular.

THE PRESIDENT: He is not here, and I am not expected to meet him here; and my future meeting with him, that is subject to a lot of things.

Q. I would like to ask, for our soldiers in the Pacific, do you have any ideas, from your observations out here, of how the morale of the soldiers might be improved?

THE PRESIDENT: We have been and we are doing everything we can to keep up the morale. Of course, I haven't been out to the actual front, but the morale is definitely good, and we are doing all that anyone can ask for to keep it up.

Q. Do you have any express message for the troops in this area?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I would have to write it out beforehand. All that I have done is to ask General MacArthur on his return to the Southwest Pacific to give my greetings to our personnel down there, and to tell them that we are not forgetting them back home, and that we will bring them back home as soon as we can.

Q. May we quote that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and I was going to say exactly the same thing to Richardson and Nimitz.

Q. At your conference at Casablanca, you gave us a very fine phrase about unconditional surrender. Are we going to make that our goal out here in the Pacific? I wonder if you could tell us anything about that from your talks here?

THE PRESIDENT: There is nothing I can tell you, except that at Casablanca I made no differentiation between our European enemy and our Far Eastern enemy. The same thing applies to Japan.

Q. And the goal with Japan is still unconditional surrender?

THE PRESIDENT: Still is with everybody. Just for background -- it means no quotes from me, but merely to give you an idea to keep in your heads to write in your story -- there has been a good deal of complaint among some of the nice, high-minded people about unconditional surrender, that if we changed the term "unconditional surrender," Germany might surrender more quickly.

Mr. Churchill and I have made no modification of the terms of unconditional surrender.

They complain that it is too tough and too rough. I will explain it a little this way.

Back in 1865, Lee was driven into a corner back of Richmond, at Appomattox Court House. His army was practically starving, had had no sleep for two or three days, his arms were practically expended.

So he went, under a flag of truce, to Grant. Lee had come to Grant thinking about his men. He asked Grant for his

terms of surrender.

Grant said, "Unconditional surrender."

Lee said he couldn't do that, he had to get some things. Just for example, he had no food for more than one meal for his army.

Grant said, "That is pretty tough."

Lee then said, "My cavalry horses don't belong to us, they belong to our officers and they need them back home."

Grant said, "Unconditional surrender."

Lee then said, "All right. I surrender," and tendered his sword to Grant.

Grant said, "Bob, put it back. Now, do you unconditionally surrender?"

Lee said, "Yes."

Then Grant said, "You are my prisoners now. Do you need food for your men?"

Lee said, "Yes. I haven't got more than enough for one meal more."

Then Grant said, "Now, about those horses that belong to the Confederate officers. Why do you want them?"

Lee said, "We need them for the spring plowing."

Grant said, "Tell your officers to take the animals home and do the spring plowing."

There you have unconditional surrender. I have given you no new term. We are human beings -- normal, thinking human beings. That is what we mean by unconditional surrender.

Q. The fact is that unconditional surrender

still stands?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Practically every German denies the fact they surrendered in the last war, but this time they are going to know it.

And so are the Japs.

Q. Is that to demonstrate the fact that eventually we may have to feed the liberated in all these countries?

THE PRESIDENT: We will help them get back on their feet physically. We don't believe in wholesale starvation.

Q. This is no longer background, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, this is still background. But it doesn't mean that we will send the first spare food that we have into Germany. We will take care of our own and our Allies first.

Q. The possibility of bringing war criminals to justice for the atrocities they have committed against our men and people, have you anything to say about that now?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think anything can be given out on that now about Europe or Japan. It's a little premature. Premature -- that's a good word to use.

Q. This is probably the wrong place to bring up this subject, but have you had any word from your running mate, Senator Truman?

THE PRESIDENT: Very nice telegram from him.

Q. On the record, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I would show you a copy, but I've already had it filed away. It's not handy.

Q. Have you been in communication with Hannegan or Truman?

THE PRESIDENT: No, just the one telegram from Truman.

Q. Is there anything you can tell us about your plans for 1944?

THE PRESIDENT: The Good Lord is considerate again, as I have no plans.

Q. When General MacArthur was about to leave the Philippines, I recall he said something to the general effect that "I will return." In view of the setting of this meeting with him, is there anything that you could tell us? Is that true now?

THE PRESIDENT: The only thing I could say in answer to that question, in answer to any direct question, would be such as to possibly give the enemy an inkling as to which way we are going. We are going to get the Philippines back, and without question General MacArthur will take a part in it. Whether he goes direct or not, I can't say.

Q. Can we say that General MacArthur will return to the Philippines?

THE PRESIDENT: He was correct the day he left Corregidor, and I told him he was correct. Remember, I came out and said it then?

Q. When I say General MacArthur, I mean that we shall return to the Philippines.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and General MacArthur shall take part.

Q. Mr. President, from your conferences here, will there be any emphasis or speedup in the conduct of the war?

THE PRESIDENT: Neither one nor the other.

Q. Were you reviewing or re-establishing strategy?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you review or re-establish strategy about once a week as you go along, it's just normal procedure. But it was very useful, this particular conference. I think it was one of the most important we have held in some time. I found it was awfully hard to get along without it, because I haven't talked in person with General MacArthur in the past seven years -- have not seen him for seven years. He was then my Chief of Staff in Washington.

Q. What can you tell us of the impressions you gathered from your survey of the local situation?

THE PRESIDENT: Perfectly wonderful. What has been done here is almost beyond belief. And to see the speed of doing it! I don't know how long you young people have been in the service, but in the older days, say we could do a particular job in six months. Today, when the same sort of job comes up, it can be done in a much shorter time. That speed of doing things is the one thing about Pearl Harbor that has impressed me most -- today's speed as compared with that of two years ago.

Q. Didn't you say at Schofield the other day that this area has shown greater inventive genius than any other?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that is correct. I have never seen as much done anywhere as I have here. For example, take Hickham Field. Ten years ago there was nothing much there

but a swamp. Look at it now!

Q. Why do you think that United States soldiers have been able to beat the Japanese at their own game of atoll and jungle fighting?

THE PRESIDENT: Perhaps it sounds like a little bit of boasting, but it is the difference between our type of civilization and our type of fellow, and their type of civilization and fellow. We will take them on at any game, war or pleasure, and beat them at it.

Q. May we quote that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but check it first.

Q. Do you, Mr. President, view the situation in China as serious at the present time -- the military situation?

THE PRESIDENT: I believe about a month ago I said I wasn't satisfied with the progress in China. I think I can say that the general situation seems to be a little better now, and strategically the situation is no worse. There is still a long ways to go. It's a big country. The mere size of the country presents a problem. In getting things in, we have to cross the highest mountains in the world.

Q. There was some discussion about whether or not there was a prospect of another major war in the Orient to defeat Japan. Anything more about that?

THE PRESIDENT: We are going to do whatever it requires. We are going right through with it to clean up Japan. I wouldn't call it another major war. Just carrying this war through to a finish. The battlefields have not been chosen

yet. But we are ready for them wherever they come.

Q. Many of our people have no definite idea of the size of this place.

THE PRESIDENT: It's a little bit late. So many of them don't understand geography. The size of the Pacific doesn't mean anything to them. They don't understand the immensity of it. We are conducting military operations from Hawaii at a great distance from our west coast, at a distance from Hawaii farther than from New York to Normandy -- a terrific distance.

We are doing many other things here, too, that the people back home don't realize, like flying in the wounded from Saipan, the wounded who had been taken down to one of the other islands by ship and flown directly into Pearl Harbor. And at the hospitals! Look what modern science is doing today. We couldn't have done that under the most modern of conditions two years ago. Today, we are doing it.

And we have control of the ocean -- have to have it to get the wounded ships back here from areas some two thousand miles away. Many of them come directly to Pearl Harbor to get repairs. That doesn't mean that we have one hundred percent control of the ocean. The enemy still picks off an occasional ship of ours. But essentially we are in control. It is a much greater distance from our west coast to the actual fighting front in the Pacific than it is from our east coast to the fighting front in France.

I think the average American coming to Hawaii is

perfectly amazed at what we are doing right here -- the workings of the three services. You've got to see these things with your own eyes. I have been here before, and I am amazed. I have seen all the plans -- plans for the buildings -- but I had to see it to visualize it.

Q. Who have been the principal figures in your strategical conferences here?

THE PRESIDENT: Admirals Leahy and Nimitz, General MacArthur, Admirals Ghormley and Halsey, and General Richardson. You know Admiral Leahy is a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral Nimitz is the naval officer in command of the Pacific. General MacArthur is the Army officer in command of the Southwest Pacific. So these three tie right in with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral Leahy also ties in with the Combined Chiefs of Staff (United States and British) and myself.

Q. General Richardson, did he figure in these conferences?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but only on the local situation. So did General Buckner, who is in charge of the Aleutians, the Northwest Area.

Q. Do you know of any particular problems at home?

THE PRESIDENT: Nothing at all. Nothing developing.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(reported by Lieut. Wm. Rigdon)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #963
Held On The Train En Route to Washington, D. C.
August 15, 1944

(the President opened the press conference by telling the story of Admiral Brown and his little "low," as follows:)

(On the train in North Dakota, August 14, 1944. "Mary Had A Little Lamb -- 1944 Version")

Shortly after leaving Honolulu, clear blue sky, calm sea, no wind, there appeared over the horizon a cloud as small as a man's hand. It saw us and approached slowly.

It turned out to be one of those rather rare animals known as a "low." The party was on deck, and as soon as the "low" saw us it recognized Rear Admiral Wilson Brown, U.S.N., and headed straight for us.

We cannot shake it off.

It smiled all over, circled us several times and took a position just off the stern. It followed us all night and the next day and the next.

After three more days, we reached Adak, where it went ashore and played happily in the wake of Admiral Brown. With it came wind and rain and fog.

We all realized that it was a nice little cloud but to be accompanied everywhere by a "low"was getting to be monotonous. Its presence became so persistent that the tug boats were prevented by it from pulling us off the dock. In other

words, it was an annoying "low." Our expert said it would pass us to the eastward and finally when it went off to gamble on the horizon for a few minutes, we got under way and had only been headed for Kodiak for an hour or two when the little "low" turned up again from nowhere and accompanied us. All the way to Kodiak it hovered around us, and while it was kind enough to run away while we caught a fish, there it was back again all the rest of the day, and all the next day, and accompanied us in to Auk Bay.

By unanimous cursing, we persuaded it to go away while we caught some more fish, and the sun actually came out. But having transferred to a destroyer, Admiral Brown seemed to be somewhat worried, and sure enough his little "low appeared again that evening. He was so glad to see it that it never left us. We think that he fed it surreptiously under the table.

It was with us all the way down the Inland Passage day after day, and actually followed us into the Puget Sound Navy Yard. We pleaded with the Admiral to say goodbye and leave it there. He said he would do his best, and we think he did do his best, but to no avail.

In the late afternoon we went to Seattle and boarded the train, and to our horror the next morning after we woke up across the Cascade Mountains, there was the little "low" following us. It kept on going all the way into Montana and the following day across Montana and into North Dakota.

What can we do about it?

The trouble is that it has lots of friends in the

party. For instance, it has encouraged Admiral McIntire to use a new word with almost every sentence. If we cannot see the horizon, we are told it is an occluded front. It seems to me that is a very long word to apply to a little lamb or a little "low." Anna and the girls had never seen an occlusion. They think it is just a nautical term for bad weather, and we tell them that it is just an old Navy custom.

So here we are approaching the Twin Cities, and we have got the bright idea that Admiral Brown should continue to feed his little "low," and bring it with us all the way to Washington. Washington needs a little "low," and so we must never forget that Wilson had a little "low" and write a new children's book about it.

Q. Why did we not go on further north, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: The reason was, I thought I would go on further west which is a closed area, strictly closed, out Kiska way.

Q. When we saw the stories out of the Aleutians, we gnashed our teeth.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they were so happy to file those stories. Sitting way up there, week after week, and month after month, they were really happy to publish them.

Q. Not that we suffered any in Seattle.

Q. I would trade the Seattle train yards for a good little "low."

Q. One of our men was in Alaska from Seattle when

the story came out, and it was the first time since the war that the censors had allowed Adak to be mentioned, or the warehouses. You could, up to that time, mention anything but the warehouses.

THE PRESIDENT: I did not mention it because Adak is within very easy flying range of the Japanese. From Attu and the outer isles, it is only 600 miles to the Kuriles. We were less than 250 miles from Attu.

Q. Why have the Japs not come over?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. They did see a submarine off Kodiak about fifty days before I was there, and we think we got her.

Q. What is their explanation for no Jap air blows?

THE PRESIDENT: The question is, have they got any planes to make the complete trip? We are running into that same thing in Germany. I suppose if you were in Europe you would get half-a-dozen guesses.

Q. Do the Russians say anything about their destruction?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Except we are destroying them as fast as they are being built. Another possibility is they have turned a lot of their plane factories into these flying bomb things.

Q. In our raids of attrition on Japan, are not we knocking down more planes than they can build?

THE PRESIDENT: There again, everybody's guess has been wrong on Jap planes. You can make only a guess. When the war started, our best intelligence was the Japs could

build -- the Army said -- 250 a month. The Navy said 350, and I said they were crazy and I put the figure at 400. Actually, today -- and this is purely a guess -- I think the Japanese, giving them two years in which to build up their manufacturing, could turn out between 1,000 and 1,500 a month. But this is purely a guess. We have been knocking them down more than the 250 a month. Their flyers are not so good as the first flyers they have encountered.

Q. Mr. President, for our going-home stories, what are some of the things you plan on top of your schedule, when you get back?

THE PRESIDENT: For once, the editorial desks are pretty good. The editorial in the Star was pretty good about the defense of the Pacific. It is in my room on my bed. I think that editorial is just about as good about the defense of the future as any I've seen; and I especially call attention to the fact we have the wherewithal -- the planes and the ships. It is our duty to defend Central and South America on the Pacific side just as much as on the Atlantic side, and not just the Monroe Doctrine. That in a way enters into it, but there is a common sense procedure. We could not let any enemy in the Pacific get a foothold any more than we would want anybody from the European or African to get a foothold.

Q. As a result of what you have seen, do you plan any special conferences on the Pacific?

THE PRESIDENT: I hold them all the time. That really is -- on the Pacific -- not much that goes before the Combined

Staffs. I am not talking about the Burma, I am talking about the air and troops and control in the Pacific, but it is not to be confused with Mountbatten's command. Those decisions, because relatively speaking, we are a great deal stronger and have more in there than the Allies -- Australia and New Zealand. That, of necessity, is our present responsibility, decided by the Joint Staffs, who meet right along, instead of going to London to talk with the British about it.

Q. I assume, too, when you get back, that you will see the Congressional Leaders right away?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, when I can.

Q. Marshall and King?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. The Secretary of State and the Secretary of War -- the Secretary of the Navy is away -- I will see within the next three days. Because then, off the record, I hope to go up to Hyde Park for three or four days.

Q. How about Truman?

THE PRESIDENT: He is in Washington, and I will see him.

Q. Mr. President, will you be in town for the Cabinet meeting?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I think I will have one.

Q. How about the Pacific War Council?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe I can work it in. I probably will be away.

Q. What happened to the Pacific War Council? It has not met since Cairo and Teheran.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, so many have been away. The Australian Prime Minister was here, and we could not arrange it because too many people were away. In effect, while we have not had a formal meeting we have been in quite close touch. Fraser and Curtin have been in touch, but no meeting. Perfectly obvious.

Q. Mr. President, do you know of any special domestic things waiting for you at home?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I don't think so. The only thing I will have to do, as soon as I get home, is this bill for relief of the unemployed. One is the Kilgore Bill. The other is the George Bill.

Q. What do you think of this situation, not commenting directly on the bills, but on the need?

THE PRESIDENT: That is something you cannot tell, what the need will be. But you have to be prepared if the need arises.

And then, of course, there is one phase that I cannot comment on directly, but I could talk about it off the record but for background -- that is a good one, off the record but for background. Being somewhat of a philosopher, it always amuses me -- it ought to be divorced from politics -- and it is damn hard to do it. For eleven years I have been up against a problem raised by both Republicans and Democrats.

With their right hand they hoist the flag for State's rights. "This is a terrible situation and something has got to be done about it. We don't want the Federal Government to do

it. We want the States to do it." And everybody applauds. Then with the left hand, they say, "There is a crying need, and something has got to be done. Will the Federal Government give us the money?"

I am being purely philosophical about it. It cuts across both parties. What they want is all the money in the world to take care of the unemployed. But they want to take care of the unemployed in the several States.

The answer is this. If you have -- there are no property values in Georgia. They are so low that the taxes which the State receives are barely able to run the government in the State of Georgia. For example, around Warm Springs, I think the principal of the Warm Springs School -- a man -- gets $400 a year, and I think the teachers get from $200 to $350 a year.

Q. They eat well.

THE PRESIDENT: They all eat well, and they drink pretty well, too, if you don't mind corn whiskey.

In Georgia, if you left those thrown out of work to the State of Georgia, they would have to go in debt. I suppose they might give them ten dollars a month. One of the fellows mentioned, "What about the fellow in the next foxhole?" And you are a great friend of the fellow in the next foxhole. We can afford in New York State to pay him thirty dollars a month. Take two people in Detroit, thrown out of work at the end of the war -- intimate friends living together, getting the same wages -- one fellow goes back to Georgia and is paid very little, while in New York we pay him thirty dollars a month.

Q. In the same philosophical sense, you mean the Governor of New York can afford to shout "State's rights" because he has a surplus?

THE PRESIDENT: Because he has Governor Lehman's surplus. (laughter)

Q. What do you think can be done about it?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I am going to study it. But it is being made an issue of, State's rights. Either the States are coming to the Federal Government for money, or one State is going to pay ten dollars and the next State thirty dollars.

Q. What about the labor situation? There have been two or three flare-ups.

THE PRESIDENT: There again, off the record but for background, you will see between now and the 7th of November an increasing number of plants that we have to take over. Need I ask why?

Q. Yes, you do.

THE PRESIDENT: Because every labor dispute you can come to there will be a strike crisis. You take this truck situation. It was the employers and not the men. It is going to be fomented. Obviously for political reasons. You will see between now and November 7th an outbreak of a great many strikes. Again the philosopher.

Q. What can you do to head those off?

THE PRESIDENT: Not one damn thing. Because essentially they are political strikes or lockouts.

Q. If they get severe enough, can't you identify them?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Only a Westbrook Pegler could identify a thing like that.

Q. Will he identify those particular strikes?

THE PRESIDENT: He will not! (laughter)

Q. Are there any Messages to Congress developing?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Anything about the trip?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Do you know what your total mileage will have been?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it's 3,000 across the country; 2,200 to Hawaii; 2,200 to Adak; from Adak back via Kodiak and Juneau another 2,200; back to Seattle and 3,000 across.

Q. About 14,500 miles is what we estimated it.

Q. Considering the mileage that we drove on Oahu, can't we get a 15,000 mileage? We must have driven 300 miles or more.

THE PRESIDENT: I would say, all in all, about 16,000 miles.

Q. Is this your longest absence from Washington -- five weeks?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Teheran was more than thirty days.

Q. Teheran was from Armistice Day, and you got back on the 17th of December. This is a five-weeks trip, and

Teheran was, I think, about 36 or 37 days.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, Congress was away most of the time. That was one of my speeches in Adak which you cannot print. I said I have to go back to Washington -- this was in the Mess Hall with all the enlisted men -- I have to go back not because I have anything to do, but because Congress is sitting. (laughter)

Q. Have you had any political communications other than that telegram from Senator Truman?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. I judge you have been aware of some of the criticism in the paper?

THE PRESIDENT: No. What did they say?

Q. That the whole trip is political, is the point of a number of columns.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they must know better than I do. (laughter)

Q. Anything we can say about a future meeting with Prime Minister Churchill? The summer is nearly gone and there are only two seasons left.

THE PRESIDENT: Don't use it, but the answer is not quite yet. You cannot use that for security reasons.

Q. What could we use generally? That has come up speculating.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I don't see why you should not say this. It has been our custom ever since we got in the war to meet about once every six months, and purely on

a speculative basis we have now on the development of the landing in France -- and what we will get tonight is the landing in Southern France -- we have landed which is a very important operation. Both of those things have been launched. Anybody knows any major operation takes a hell of a long time. It seems reasonable to suppose that it is time for us to meet again very soon to talk over the next steps which of course have to be prepared for. I think that is all right. I think it is all right to put it on that basis.

Q. The recurrence of stress inside Germany, coupled with the rapid allied progress in France, does it add up to anything yet?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Not yet.

Q. Have you gotten anything you feel sure of on that German thing? I mean honestly.

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't the faintest idea. I hope that there will be more trouble inside of Germany itself. But it is purely on a basis of wishing. No human being knows. It may turn out to be wishful thinking. Obviously, the quicker there is trouble in Germany, the faster the war will progress. Of course, if I were -- what is the name of the best war writer? -- Major George Fielding Eliot. I think he is the best writer on the war. He keeps his mind on the war, and does not go traveling on. He is way ahead of Walter Lippmann, who has not thought about these things as Eliot has.

If I were George Fielding Eliot -- this is just for background -- I would write an article on the psychology of

the Germans -- not just the German people but the German command. Really, ever since the last war they quit just before any enemy got into Germany, and I still think there is a good deal in it. I don't think they will make any last-ditch defense around Berlin. I think it is a characteristic of the Germans to throw up the sponge instead of dying fighting. They do not want Germany over-run by the enemy. That is one reason why I have felt that Germany would not quit, or maybe they might revolt from the inside until they were driven back to the boundaries of Germany. Of course, that can happen from both sides.

Q. Will we let them quit then?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Nothing like last time. That is out. That was a gift from God and General Foch. And the only man who stood out among them was General Pershing. If we let them get away with it this time the next generation will tell us they have won the war.

Q. We would like to use that.

Q. Even though Germany were to quit, even though we get to her borders, we are still going into Germany?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. And the same thing applies to Japan?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. That is a reiteration of unconditional surrender?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Do you think the American people will need much salesmanship on the Pacific front when Germany falls?

THE PRESIDENT: You have been on the Coast more

than I have.

Q. I don't think there is any question about out there, but in the East, I mean.

THE PRESIDENT: Do the job instead of half the job. Because if we let Japan go on and do this thing in another twenty years, the psychological effect would be that if Japan gets away with it, a lot of people would start imagining that Japan did not really get licked.

Q. We judge from your speech your idea is that once we defeat Japan we should build at least a figurative fence around Japan until we have proof that she can live with us. Is that right?

THE PRESIDENT: Just because you cannot trust them -- even if I had a complete F.B.I. there it would get you nowhere.

Q. Do you think the Russians will cooperate with us in maintaining that fence?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That is why I said off the record it would not do to have it attributed to me to say the Russians would hop in on our side as soon as we win. Off the record, I think she will, but I cannot prove it. I know that Russia wants to build up Siberia and put an enormous population in there. Talk to Ross about it. He was on the old ALBANY after the last war, in 1919, and we had quite a number of ships up there, and we saved Siberia from the Japs at that time. We were supporting old H[Horvath ?]_____ and his army against the advancing Bolsheviks -- some forty or fifty thousand. Actually, we came damn close to fighting the Japs ourselves. They were throwing

troops into Siberia but literally we saved Russia from the Japs. We were trying to keep old man [Kerensky ?] _____ in power. If we had not done it, the Japs would have put in there and grabbed it from the Bolsheviks. A most wonderful country four or five hundred miles from Vladivostok -- more like the west coast country.

Q. Vladivostok would be within fighter range of Japan, would it not?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

There are all kinds of things to prove what I mean. I was approached about 1939 about the outbreak of the war by the Japs, who asked to make an alliance and agreement with them to go into Siberia and take it away from the Russians. This was an honest proposal. And then we would divide it up for the process of colonization and all the concessions of military, and so forth. That is the kind of they have.

Q. Has there been a legitimate peace offer in this war? Anything resembling one?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Not a thing. The Pope makes a speech every once in a while, and says we ought to have peace and stop fighting. The only thing we have had was the collapse of Italy.

Q. At Bremerton you made an interpolation -- something about voluntary censorship. I missed it.

THE PRESIDENT: I just said appreciation of the press and radio, that they had not broken anything. Actually, I got word from Steve that a great many people had written letters

home. That is why we broke the story. A lot of papers were getting individuals coming into their offices saying, "Will you look what my boy has just written me from Pearl Harbor, that the President was there and is going to the Aleutians?" Only one paper printed it.

Q. What paper was that?

THE PRESIDENT: A paper in Texas. Must have been a slip-up on the part of the Army censors. You couldn't censor every letter, however.

Q. There was a letter back in San Francisco by the time we got there. There was a strict block on the mail while we were over there.

(taken by Dorothy Brady)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #964
Executive Office of the President
August 18, 1944 -- 11.22 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Steve (Early) has been here four weeks and he says he has nothing. Everything is quiet. I have nothing, but I have had the press with me, except with the fog.

Q. Mr. President, will you have a message to this preliminary postwar security conference meeting Monday?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I really don't know.

Q. Are you meeting with the delegates, sir, inviting them down to dinner?

THE PRESIDENT: That I don't know.

Q. On this question of foreign policy, sir, considerable stories have been published in New York principally, that you had issued some sort of invitation to Mr. Willkie to come down and have a talk on foreign policy. Is there any basis of truth in that?

THE PRESIDENT: Not that I know of.

Q. Not that you know of?

THE PRESIDENT: Sounds like New York stories.

Q. Can't hear you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (a little louder) I don't know anything about it.

Q. Would you like to talk to Mr. Willkie?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's rather a personal matter. And the question is whether I should discuss it on -- on or

off the record with the press. And the answer is that it's a personal matter.

Q. Would you mind speaking a little louder, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: (louder) It's a personal matter! (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, the A.P. this morning quotes the New York Times as saying that you were hopeful of getting Senate approval of a plan for world organization prior to the end of the war, that organization to be separate from the question of peace treaties, and later asking Congress for the power to enforce peace treaties.

THE PRESIDENT: Who said that?

Q. The A.P. quotes the New York Times.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, well, you know -- honestly, I am not here to -- just to answer questions about things that papers have been printing. I wouldn't have any -- any chance to do my duty as President if I answered all the fool questions that are set up. You know perfectly well what has happened on that thing. Well, that's -- that's what happened. Mr. Hull is taking everybody into full confidence on what has been done. Well, that's all there is.

Q. Mr. President, do you have anything to add to what Mr. Hull said yesterday about Governor Dewey's statement?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, have you had time

to make up your mind on the George bill, and the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I haven't. I haven't, Pete (Brandt). I have got it in my basket right there -- (indicating) -- on top -- it came in last night -- which is just a description of the two bills. You see, this last bill was put in after I had -- actually, after I had left. I haven't had a chance to read it.

Q. On your way home, sir, you talked with considerable finality about the occupation of Germany and Japan. In the case of the occupation of Germany, are we to take that to mean that you have arrived at a definite understanding, through various mechanisms, with Russia and Britain on that occupation?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you can't plan everything ahead. However, we talked; and they are going along all right.

Q. We had understood from several London dispatches that the -- that the European Advisory Commission had worked on that subject.

THE PRESIDENT: They worked on it.

Q. There is a pretty definite understanding then?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. But a <u>general</u> understanding, and not -- not the details.

Q. Well, would ---

THE PRESIDENT: (adding) Can't do that.

Q. (continuing) --- the sections of occupation be a detail, or would that enter into the general understanding?

THE PRESIDENT: No. That's a detail.

Q. Mr. President, in one of the press association

stories this morning, there was a reference to something that you said regarding many people thought that your trip was of a political nature.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes?

Q. (continuing) Is there anything that you can add to that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Nothing, except that the press association boys were with me, and they were exceedingly accommodating to somebody, from one of the press associations or one of their members, and planted the question. It's one of those things that has to be done in a campaign year. And I think the gentleman who asked me the question asked it with great reluctance, for the simple reason that it was a fool question, and he knew it, too.

Q. Mr. President, there has been a proposal that trade agreements be made bi-laterally. Would you like to comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't ---

Q. (adding) Reciprocal trade agreements.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- I haven't seen it. Bi-laterally?

Q. Bi-lateral agreements.

THE PRESIDENT: Isn't that absolutely -- it brings up a very old -- very old subject, I don't know how many years ago, about ten -- ten or eleven years ago, when we opposed the bi-lateral method that Germany was pursuing at that time. And we adopted the method of trade agreements, making the treaty

-

agreements with a nation in such a way that any other country could come in under the same terms, and many of them did, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- with the difference -- with the difference in method.

Q. (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And I haven't heard of any effort to change that policy.

Q. Mr. President, there have been some proposals that Congress might consider a plan for universal military training after the war.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) Would you care to express your thought on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Not at this time, other than -- that question I have -- I have given a great deal of study -- other than to say that I wish people would study it.

We have, you know -- we have one -- one problem after the war -- I have seen a small angle of it on this last trip -- we have all over the United States, and outside the United States for that matter, an enormous amount of soldiers' housing -- soldiers and sailors' housing -- these great training camps both on the military and the naval, Marine end of it -- Coast Guard. And that is how we have been able to effect this very extraordinary and successful training of about ten million men. I suppose in those camps today we have Government housing for -- what? -- five -- five million men. Take a rough figure.

I may be wrong. It may be four million, it may be six. And it's very good housing, even in the distant -- the distant Aleutian Islands and Alaska, all over this country.

It's so good that we -- frankly, it's infinitely better than -- it's better than the housing of the first World War, with which I had something to do. We built housing for troops and for naval trainees during the first World War, yet some -- and some of it is still in Washington. It's in a pretty decrepit state. Well, it's 25 years later, but it's still there because it was in the Capital City, and we kept it painted, and we kept it properly underpinned.

The new housing is very much better. It is rather interesting to compare the construction. The estimate in 1917 and 1918 on that housing was that it would last -- oh -- ten or twelve years. We all thought it would last that long, and most of it at the end of the first World War was scrapped -- sold for lumber while we could sell it -- turned into kindling wood, if we couldn't sell it. And today, the construction, if you go and look at it all over the country, probably has a life with normal care of perhaps 25 years. The -- it sits on concrete pillars, or stone foundations, whatever it is. It won't rot away underneath, and if it is kept painted that is the other thing, and especially if it is kept lived in. As we all know, a building that isn't lived in is very hard to maintain -- a great deal harder than a building that is lived in.

Well, we have got -- we will have about five million beds. What are we going to do with them? It's an awful

problem. That's an awful lot of buildings.

One -- there are two or three different things which obviously it could be put to use on. One is taking care of the large number of veterans. The buildings are not fireproof but they are two storeys high, and most certainly we ought not to put veterans on the second floor. They are all fitted out so that you can get out at any one of the four corners of a building and climb down a fire-escape, but no -- what will I call them? -- no ambulatory cases, that is, cases that can't walk, should be put on the second floor of any of those buildings.

Then, there will be a tremendous number of wounded or sick veterans at the end of this war who will have to be taken care of. That is one use that we can put many of these encampments to work on, under the Veterans' Administration.

Another use. We are going to have a great many problems of vocational training of these veterans. I am just taking samples -- there are a great many other uses they can be put to. I would rather at the end of the war, if we can help it, not put up any new buildings if we have other buildings that can be used for that purpose.

Then, there is a third use, and that is to use them for people in training, and there is a great deal of talk today about how good it would be for the average boy to get training of some kind. I am not talking -- I am not putting the word <u>military</u> on it -- some of it would be military -- but it would be training, somewhere between the ages of -- what? -- 17 to 22-23 -- one year out of their life to serve their own

Government. Well, it's worth studying.

You know, the average one of us who hasn't had military training doesn't know how to get along and keep clean, in -- in a camp with a lot of other human beings. It's -- it's rather a special art, to live with a large crowd of people. And then there is a curious thing called discipline, which is not to be sneezed at, although it is sneezed at by a very large number of people in this country today. I am not specifying. You can specify if you want to. (laughter) Discipline is rather a good thing for a nation to have. It makes for law. We are not a very -- very law-abiding people. It makes for order. We are not so bad on that, but a year of learning how to keep clean, how to live with a group of a hundred, two hundred people is a good thing.

One of the best examples is what happened to the C.C.C. (Civilian Conservation Corps). I suppose the -- well, a much higher percentage of boys in '33 and '4 and those following years -- a very, very much larger percentage than I had had any idea of -- were improved physically and mentally by C.C.C. At the same time, they were given certain other things in C.C.C., how to live together in a group, and how to do things that they were told -- use their muscles a bit. Well, for instance -- you needn't even put this in -- this crowd in this room is muscularly in very bad shape. (laughter)

Well, C.C.C. did them good. And we taught them other things. We gave many of them, without -- without their recognizing it, we gave them vocational training. I see people here

that couldn't wield a spade. Perfectly obvious. They would have an awful time if they were told to dig a ditch, even a little shallow ditch. It would be a very good thing for some people that I am looking at. (laughter)

So there is this problem of a year of Government service -- vocational training, and some other kind of training. Even stenography -- not a bad idea. Fitting them for Government work. If nothing else, they might be able to pass the examination for the Civil Service a little more easily, if they had a year in the Federal Government.

And that is why I am glad you raised the question. It's being studied. It's being thought about. But I think that public opinion ought to be gradually formed in this country. We have one of the -- one of the practical financial questions that come up. We have the housing for the bulk of the two million -- two million and a quarter boys who would come in, somewhere between the ages of 17 and 22, or something like that, and give a year of service to the Government. I wouldn't call it compulsory military training, because in many cases we wouldn't have military training. A year of service to <u>their</u> Government.

Q. Mr. President, a story as written off your train remarked on some mysterious source talking about the possibility of your conferring again with Mr. Churchill. Is there anything you could tellus about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I most certainly am going to confer with Mr. Churchill again.

Q. This year?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I told them on the train, the same old word: s-o-o-n.

Q. (aside) What was that?

THE PRESIDENT: Same old story.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your conference yesterday with General Marshall?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think so. Talked over the whole bag of tricks.

Q. Mr. President, Senator Truman today has already endorsed combining the Army and Navy commands. Have you any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I thought ---

Q. (adding) One service.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- the thing is being studied. It's a thing that everybody is practically agreed on now that we are not going to do anything about it until after we have won the war.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us any plans you have for Mr. Truman in the campaign? He said he will be guided by your views.

THE PRESIDENT: Not yet, because I haven't seen him yet. He is coming in to lunch today, Pete (Brandt).

Q. Have you any plans to see Mr. Wallace?

THE PRESIDENT: Just as soon as he gets back.

Q. He is out of town now, I believe?

THE PRESIDENT: He is out of town.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can give us for background, or otherwise, regarding the use of the airports that we spent money on in Canada, which I understand -- the agreement now is that they are paying us for, I think they agreed to pay us 76 million dollars and some odd hundred thousand?

THE PRESIDENT: That I don't know. Ask either General Arnold or the Secretary of the Treasury.

Q. Well, Mr. Mackenzie King made public, or rather he said he cabled in the House of Commons the agreement with this country, whereby they will pay us back 76 million, 8 hundred thousand dollars for our improvements on the great circle route, and also on the airports that are going up through western Canada and the northwest to Alaska, and I was wondering if we had any plans at all for postwar use of those airfields, or whether it would be a subject for negotiation after the war is over?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't tell you about -- about that at all, because on the -- on the trip down from the Aleutian Islands, what I said in -- at Bremerton was very true -- true of the northwest part of the country, not just the State of Washington. The whole of the northwest is very much interested in the future commerce of Siberia and north China, and that particular route on the great circle course does go through southern Alaska, goes through -- roughly through -- past the Aleutian Islands. And, of course, it is in its infancy, it has never been done commercially. We have been sending a

lot of Russian planes out there, flying them up on the general route of the Alcan Highway, and they go to a place -- I think it is theoretically secret, but most people know where it is in Alaska -- and the Russian pilots take the planes on from there into Russia. It is going to have, I think, a very great development, because commercially we have never been on speaking terms with Siberia, and we are -- the volume of traffic going that way, I think, is one of the future important routes.

Now, I don't know anything about the relationship of Canada to this, except that they -- they have been very cooperative in what has been done so far. There is no reason why there should be any trouble about that. We can get there without going through Canada only by going out to sea from Puget Sound -- American territory -- past the reasonable limit -- three miles or twenty miles -- then fly up the coast and get back into American and Alaskan waters by staying out to sea. But that is a silly thing. Much easier to go the straight route, which is up the land, right up the coast from Puget Sound, or else up the Montana route, both of which go through British Columbia.

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned earlier that a general agreement had been reached with Britain and Russia for the occupation of Germany. Would you say that it would be fair to assume that it would be no trouble to reach a similar agreement with China for the occupation of Japan?

THE PRESIDENT: Just as easy. There are no problems there.

Q. Yes.

Q. Has such an agreement been reached as yet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: With China? No. Nothing -- nothing down on paper. Only verbal talks between the Generalissimo (Chiang Kai-shek) and me.

Q. Mr. President, while you were away, there was considerable discussion of W.P.B. reconversion plans. Could you tell us anything about your views on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I am -- I am not sufficiently up to date. I haven't had time yet to do that.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you.

(Notebook PC-19 -- Page 73 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #965
Executive Office of the President
August 25, 1944 -- 11.15 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry to be late, but I have been saying goodbye to the President of Iceland (Sveinn Bjornsson), with whom I have had a very nice and very successful visit.

Outside of that, I haven't got anything -- not a thing.

Q. Mr. President, have you been in touch with Mr. Willkie?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Yes -- privately.

Q. Would privately, sir, preclude any ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Yes. Yes. (much laughter)

Q. Can you tell us, sir, whether you are going to have a private meeting with him?

THE PRESIDENT: Not that I know of. No date. I may. I see lots of people privately.

Q. Mr. President, are you in sympathy with the secrecy at Dumbarton Oaks?

THE PRESIDENT: With what?

Q. The secrecy at the Dumbarton Oaks conferences?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think that you had better see Mr. Stettinius on that.

Q. Mr. President, do you contemplate that Mr. Nelson will resume his duties as the head of the W.P.B. ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, ---

Q. (continuing) --- on his return from China?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- he is leaving very, very soon, I think today, for China. Of course, it's a very important mission, and I don't think I will -- that's almost an "iffy" question. I don't know. Guessing into the future.

Q. You mean <u>if</u> he returns from China?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. You mean <u>if</u> he returns from China?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Sort of "iffy" to ask what's going to happen in the future. I don't know.

Q. Is there any change in his status, Mr. President, as Chairman of the W.P.B.?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Is there any change in his status as Chairman of the W.P.B.?

THE PRESIDENT: He is still Chairman of W.P.B. Only there's an Acting Chairman in -- goes in today.

Q. Mr. President, the events in the Balkans, especially in Romania in the last couple of days, have sharpened up a great deal of interest as to what has been accomplished by the European Advisory Commission in making plans for just such an event ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That, I -- honestly I don't know. I don't know what has been done by them. I have had no documents on it.

Q. Well, are we to assume that the State

Department and you, through various conferences and preparations that have been made, do know where we are going next in such events?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know.

Q. Would someone here in Government know?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Then that means that the entire matter is centralized in London?

THE PRESIDENT: London? Not necessarily.

Q. What does it mean, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. What does it mean?

THE PRESIDENT: I can only answer you off the record, and that is that I don't know, and as far as I know nobody else knows here what specific plans have been made to meet a -- a very unexpected situation. There may not have been any plans made. Now, that's off the record, because I can't talk about anything I don't know about, and nobody else does. Purely speculative.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel that Federal unemployment compensation payments are necessary to supplement the State systems during the reconversion period?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, now you are asking me a question about a bill which is very much pending.

Q. Mr. President, would you care at this time to hazard any kind of a guess as to when the final collapse of Germany might come now?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh my, No. I have been terribly careful -- awfully careful. About the only person in the world that hasn't set the time for the ending of the war.

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, can -- is there any rough time element you can give us on how long the war in the Orient would last after the collapse?

THE PRESIDENT: It would be pure speculation on my part.

Q. Mr. President, there was a suggestion in your Lend-Lease Report about the possibility of commercial -- extending these commercial relationships that have been established through channels under Lend-Lease. Have you, in your own mind, a way of financing that development after the war?

THE PRESIDENT: What kind of development, Jim (Wright)?

Q. Well, you spoke in your Lend-Lease Report about how our cash trade is now higher than it was during the last four years before we got -- before the war broke out. Then there was an indication that this might be used as a postwar commercial relationship for expansion if credits could be arranged. I wondered whether you had in your own mind anything as to how these other countries could be financed?

THE PRESIDENT: No. In other words, it comes under the question of credit after the war, and it depends so much on the individual case. I happen to know -- just let me give you an illustration -- I happen to know one country that has got plenty of money. They will want to buy a lot of things over

here. The question in that case rises whether -- whether they need any money. If so, can they get a reasonable rate of interest from private sources? And I know another country that is busted higher than a kite, probably couldn't get it at a reasonable rate after the war from private sources. That becomes an entirely different question. It's the individual case.

Q. Mr. Crowley suggested there were two countries that had enough money here now to handle their needs.

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's true. But it is -- I couldn't write a general story on it without talking about individual countries, and I don't think that's a clubby thing to do.

Q. Would it require legislation, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Probably.

Q. What about the Johnson Act?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. That would have to be repealed?

THE PRESIDENT: Not repealed necessarily, No. Make -- send to Congress another -- permission to lend. That -- that, of course, is the final thing.

Q. You would have to deal specifically with a country ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Yes, yes.

Q. (continuing) --- that you -----.

Q. Mr. President, are there any plans for putting Italy under Lend-Lease?

THE PRESIDENT: Never heard of it.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-19 -- Page 98 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #966
Executive Office of the President
August 29, 1944 -- 4.18 p.m., e.w.t.

Q. How do you do, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: (after coughing) You must be responsible for that. (laughter)

Q. Had nothing to do with that, sir.

Q. I understand Mr. Hassett had a birthday yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Hassett doesn't look any older despite the birthday yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know.

Q. Was he out late last night?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Was he out late last night?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes. I am sure he was.

Q. Out with the girls?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Out with the girls?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, he had a good time.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a matter here, which I think is of some interest, because it does relate in a way to seeing that people are at work when the war is over, a letter to the Director of the Budget -- which Steve has had copied so you needn't bother to take it down, you have all got copies

afterwards -- to the effect (reading, not literally): "The recent favorable development of the military situation on the world's battlefronts has emphasized the need to speed up preparations for the eventual reconversion of the nation's productive energies to peaceful pursuits. This will be a huge and intricate task, requiring careful preparations."

And, of course, a great many have been made.

(continuing reading, not literally): "In addition to legislative action already under consideration, it will call for a great deal of accurate and comprehensive information concerning the industrial production, the status of industry and the wellbeing of the nation's workers. Such information should be currently maintained as we move from war to peace."

In other words, we can't do it through headlines. We have got to have accurate information. (laughter)

(continuing reading, not literally): "In particular, I believe that the statistical record should include an account of our industrial system while it is geared up for maximum production during 1944. This may well be the peak year of production for war for many years to come. An intimate knowledge of the main characteristics of the economy during this war year will be important not only as a guide to our steps toward reconversion, but as a part of the record which is essential for military preparedness in the future. I should think it would be possible, if production data were obtained for 1944, to avoid the necessity of appropriations for the regular biennial census of manufactures pertaining to 1945."

You see, normally, in the half of the ten years -- the 1945 period, for instance, we would take, under the law, the census of manufacturing, but we think that it's a good thing to step that up by one year, as you will see.

(continuing reading, not literally): "Again, it is important that we should have a running account of the status of employment, unemployment and wages in the nation as a whole, and in the principal industrial areas. With this we should know more about the effects of the war on the incomes, expenditures and savings of the great masses of our people, whose work in the factories and mines, in transportation and on the farms, has equipped our armies in the field.

"I believe that the costs of obtaining such information for the use of business, large and small, for labor, for agriculture, and the general public and governmental agencies themselves may properly be regarded as an essential part of the costs of the war emergency."

We do it this year, in other words, instead of next year.

(continuing reading, not literally): "In conjunction with the agencies concerned, will you please undertake the preparation of plans for providing these types of information,"

--- To be done through the regular -- regular channels, as we always do. ---

"---and report to me at your early convenience on ways and means by which these plans can most appropriately be effectuated."

I won't read the rest of it, it's Harold Smith's memorandum.

(yet reading, not literally): "From now on the Government and the public will require a great deal of up to date information to guide the nation's return to a peacetime economy. Demand for such information has already been expressed by representatives of business and labor, and by Federal agencies which will have responsibilities in the reconversion process. It will be especially important to obtain a clear picture of production during 1944, which in all probability will be the peak year for some time to come.

"There has been no general census of manufactures since 1940, covering 1939 production. The censuses of 1941 and 1943 were laid aside as a part of the wartime curtailment of peacetime activities. Under the law as it stands, a census of manufactures will again be required next year, covering the calendar year 1945. However, there is a general agreement that 1945 figures will be of doubtful value at best. Industry will probably be in the midst of reconversion and the figures, like those of the census of 1919, will represent neither a war nor a peacetime economy. It is therefore desirable at once to close up the five-year gap in the data since 1939 with a census of manufactures for 1944.

"Steps to secure these types of information have been urged for many years by officials and citizens, representatives of manufacturers, representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O., the Railroad Brotherhoods -- they have all

given their endorsement. Members of business groups working with the Division of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget have expressed desire for them, as have also various research organizations."

So, if we regard it as it properly is, as a part of the wartime economy, we can pay for it out of war funds this year, instead of asking for special appropriations for a year later, which wouldn't be of so much value. So I hope very much that we will be able to go ahead and get the figures of the wartime economy.

Q. Mr. President, is that in anticipation that the war will end next year?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, No. Not talking about that subject. We would have to do it next year, anyway.

Q. (interposing) How many people ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) The war might end -- the war might end. But it's an insurance so that we won't get caught short if the war should end. It has nothing to do with a guess on whether the war will end.

Q. Mr. President, in that same connection, Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee said today on the floor that there was a good deal of unnecessary excitement about the unemployment problem, that we can meet that problem when it arises. Do you feel that generally reflects Administration policy?

THE PRESIDENT: Who said that?

Q. Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means

Committee.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I would have to have the whole thing before I can comment. But I can say this about it, because he may have said other things too, which might not be fair for me to make any comment ---

Q. (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- on just that one thing. What I felt all along is that in a sense, the word re-employment is -- is the wrong emphasis to put onto the whole subject. Just the same way, the word reconversion. Well, I know quite a number of people who are in the armed forces, and a number of people who are not in the armed forces, who don't really understand what reconversion means. It isn't a simple word. There's a much simpler way of putting it, that what we require is employment, not talking about not wanting unemployment. I say we do want employment. It's just a fine distinction of emphasis. If we have employment. Now, that's the simplest English to put it in. We do not want to have problems of unemployment.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) There are a lot of things that we are paying a great deal of attention to -- jobs. Jobs -- that's even simpler than employment. It's a good old Anglo-Saxon word, which I like.

Q. How many persons are normally employed in any biennial census of manufactures, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: On what? On taking the census?

Q. Yes. The biennial one that you are proposing to move up?

THE PRESIDENT: In the what?

Q. In the biennial census of manufactures, how many persons are normally employed in taking that census?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know.

MR. EARLY: (to the President) The Census Bureau said that they would just re-employ a comparatively few in addition to their present staff.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Steve said comparatively few in addition to their present staff, ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) That's what they say.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- to be done in the regular way.

Q. Mr. President, how long will that take? In other words, when will that data be ready?

THE PRESIDENT: Begin at the end of the year. This is for the year. It's a census for the year 1944.

Q. The census does not begin until the end of the year?

THE PRESIDENT: No. They send out the forms, I suppose, beforehand.

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) Tabulations.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) The actual work is done when the figures come in ---

Q. (interjecting) Yes, yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- for this year.

Q. But it will be after the first of the year ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Oh, Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- before it's available?

THE PRESIDENT: Before it's available. Have to be. Yes.

Q. Will the census include retail and wholesale as well as manufacturers' operations?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't know.

MR. EARLY: (to the President) Read the last paragraph, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

MR. EARLY: (continuing) --- Mr. President, of the Budget Bureau's.

THE PRESIDENT: (reading, not literally): "The Director of the Bureau of the Budget has been asked to prepare these plans in conjunction with the other agencies concerned. The present statistical machinery of the Federal Government would in all cases be utilized. Details of the required studies, the means of financing them and the allocations of work among the Federal organizations which will conduct them will need to be carefully planned. Information concerning the details of the proposal may be obtained from Stuart Rice, Assistant Director of the Budget in Charge of Statistical Standards, Executive 3300, Extension 205." (laughter)

Now you know more about it than I do. I won't remember the telephone number.

Q. Mr. President, speaking of employment, have you

had time to read the Kilgore and the George bills?

THE PRESIDENT: The original thing, Yes, I read about -- when I first got back; and since then I have not kept track of the various amendments they have put on.

Q. Reached any general conclusions?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Then -- next thing I have, I was seriously in doubt. Steve almost had a fit that I would make another non-political speech. (laughter) And I thought of making a speech on a subject that is very close to my heart, because I will make a little money on it -- you see how close to my heart it is -- this is a dissertation to the public -- on the raising -- on the planting and the raising and the selling of Christmas trees. I really thought of making a radio speech on that, and then having somebody say that it was on a political subject and demanding equal time on the air. (laughter)

So instead of that, which would create another controversy, and probably want to see my books to prove that I do make money raising Christmas trees, that there would be an investigation as to -- to prove that I do take a lot of time.

I have some very, very carefully kept books on the subject of Christmas trees -- a thing called a check-book. And I pay for the labor of planting these little trees at the age of four years and about six inches high, and I pay a man -- oh -- about once every two years to go through and keep the briars out of them; and then I pay several people -- some of them schoolboys -- to go in and cut them off.

And then the next entry is on the other side of the check-book. Along comes a department store or chain store with a truck, and they themselves load these little trees -- this is ten years after the planting -- into the truck. They take them down to New York, and sell the trees -- at a profit. They get a good profit. And then they send me a check for the little trees, which is recorded in the stub of the check-book on the other side.

I think there probably should be an investigating committee. I will be glad to show them my check-book. No particular secret in it. I thought trees a very good topic for a political talk. And then we would have another discussion, as to whether it was political or wasn't political, so you might say joy would be had by all.

But I <u>am</u> going to make a political speech. You might just as well know about it. (laughter) I don't think it will be very political. Of course, it will seem so. It won't be. But it will have a tinge, and just because it will have a tinge, I don't see why it shouldn't be called a political speech.

And the time on the air will be paid for by the Democratic National Committee. Dan Tobin, on the 23rd of September, is having a group at a hotel in Washington for supper -- on the 23rd -- and because it will undoubtedly leak through press or radio within a day or so, I might just as well say it now.

It might be called -- won't be very political -- but we will call it my first political address of the campaign.

And you will all be frightfully disappointed. The evening of the 23rd at, I think, the Statler Hotel in Washington. It's the meeting of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America. So the cat's out of the bag. (laughter)

Q. What time, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. (more laughter)

Q. You say that will be your first political speech in the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, do you contemplate a nation-wide swing before November seventh?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't, No.

Q. You do not?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. I have got too much to do.

Q. (interposing) Do you contemplate ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) You don't mind adding that I have got too much to do?

Q. Not a bit. (laughter)

Q. Do you contemplate other political speeches, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Do you contemplate other political speeches?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got that far.

Q. (interposing) Do you know what you are ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Mind you, this is still -- My Lord, Yes, it's still August. I don't know.

What did you say?

Q. Do you know what you are going to tell Dan Tobin's dinner yet?

THE PRESIDENT: I've got a darn good idea. (laughter)

Q. Will Dan Tobin take any official part in the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope he will, as he has been before -- the Chairman of the Labor Committee.

Q. Could you tell us anything, Mr. President, about your luncheon today with Mr. Wallace?

THE PRESIDENT: I had an awfully nice luncheon with him. Very successful. I don't think I -- I don't think you would ask me to tell the intimate conversation at a luncheon. Some of the others in the family were there too. It was perfectly decent and respectable.

Q. Did you talk about his forthcoming speaking tour?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, Yes. Talked about everything. Right in front of the family too.

Q. Could you tell us anything about the schedule, or how extensive that speaking tour may be?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, No.

I don't think I have anything else.

Q. Would you care to make any comment, Mr. President, on the Hull-Dulles talks last week, and their outcome?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't hear back here.

Q. Comment on the Dulles-Hull talks?

MR. EARLY: Hull and Dulles.

Q. Hull and Dulles.

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. You would have to ask the Secretary about it.

Q. Mr. President, Senator Ferguson of Michigan and some others on the War Investigating Committee said today they have been informed that Donald Nelson might take over the job of directing the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion when he ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Did he really?

Q. (continuing) --- came back from China. Donald Nelson.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if he will tell me who gave him the information, I will give him the answer.

Q. Is that incorrect, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Is that information incorrect?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, don't you think I have got some rights in the world, to find out where -- where some information comes from?

Of course, you know, it's an awfully interesting thing, there are certain phrases "high official sources," and similar terms -- we have all got lists of them -- and we get out the list and find out which particular thing we want to say is the source of the information.

Well, I sometimes -- I sometimes wonder where the source of the information is, and I am going to try to find out. No reason I shouldn't.

I don't know that it isn't an entirely legitimate cover-up for something that you originate in your own head. Sometimes you do that. If I spring some tittle-tattle of information that I want spread around Washington, I find somebody whom I can trust, and he says "from high information," "high sources," and so forth and so on -- "this is the latest."

I sometimes spread false rumors around Washington, and it's grand the way they grow -- perfectly grand. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, can you give us an example, Mr. President? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: No. I can give you a lot of examples, but I won't.

Q. I heard from a very low political source that it would be Chester Bowles. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I thought he was doing pretty well in food, and I haven't -- I haven't noticed that he is allowing any internal rows within his organization, is that right? Pretty good on the whole.

Q. Will his food job be over pretty soon, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No, because it's perfectly obvious -- now don't -- don't -- don't intimate that I am saying the war is going to be over in a month, but suppose the war is over in a month or a year, and you take that date. We can't stop food administration, because obviously we don't want a dumping of food on the market. We want an orderly process. We will have to have a lot of food for Herbert Lehman's

organization, the UNRRA, for immediate relief. We are making great progress in France. In Paris, for instance -- I don't know what the population of Paris is -- three million, something like that, I suppose now -- whatever it is, it's a little less than it was. They will need food in Paris, without any doubt. That means that we will have to go into certain surpluses, whenever that happens; and when it happens, I don't know.

Q. Mr. President, can you give us any clarification of Mr. Krug's status?

THE PRESIDENT: His what?

Q. Mr. Krug's status?

THE PRESIDENT: His status?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, he's the head of W.P.A. (laughter)

Q. W.P.B.

Q. W.P.B.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. W.P.B.

THE PRESIDENT: Even I lose track of initials. (more laughter)

Q. Is he the acting head or permanent head?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I suppose on the check that's made out -- on the stub of the check -- he's down as acting head, or whatever they call it -- chief or chairman of the W.P.B. I don't know. Anyway, the point is he's running it, as I think he has shown pretty clearly. I will not

prognosticate about the future, because that is -- that kind of story I have always -- I have always rather disapproved of two kinds of speculation, one is on the stockmarket and the other is in newspaper stories, because newspaper stories are supposed to print facts -- a thing called news. But, of course, anybody today knows that there's a lot more than that perfectly cheerful face (sic).

Q. You mean they are printing some of those rumors that you spread? (much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I will tell you the next time I spread a rumor, and see how long it takes to get around. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, do you have any statement on the Dumbarton Oaks announcement this morning?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw the statement that was drawn up last night. Has it been given out?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

Q. Yes, sir.

Q. This morning.

THE PRESIDENT: It has. Well, there isn't very much more to add to that.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything that might be said about your prospective visit with Prime Minister Churchill?

THE PRESIDENT: Soon.

Q. Soon. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, have you decided on a time and place to meet the Prime Minister?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I will tell you an intimate fact: I had a bath this morning!

Q. (after a pause) (politely) Yes, sir? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: In other words -- in other words, it's an intimate fact, at the present time, which I am telling you in great confidence. I had a bath this morning! Now you know that I am going to meet the Prime Minister soon, but as to the date and the hour and the place, I am not ready to tell you that intimate fact.

Q. No, sir. I asked only whether you had decided on the time and place.

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) Same category.

Q. Mr. President, would you care to comment upon the proclamation of the Fourth Republic in France?

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't know that.

Q. Proclaiming the Fourth Republic.

THE PRESIDENT: That I didn't know. I hadn't heard about it. When was that proclaimed?

Q. To be at the end of this week, as I understand it.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) In other words, more speculation on something that hasn't happened yet. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, if we might go back to the Dumbarton Oaks statement this morning, you said that you saw the statement last night. There were two statements issued, one a joint statement in behalf of all three delegates, the other a

separate statement in the nameof Mr. Stettinius.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I will tell you -- I couldn't tell you about that particular detail, because what I saw was all in one. They probably decided to separate them, but they were both in one document, a page and a half when I saw it -- a typewritten page and a half.

Q. Mr. President, there was one document on which the three chief delegates had agreed on the general outline for a world security organization which resembled very much your draft of June 15. Would you care to comment on the differences between the two?

THE PRESIDENT: My draft of June 15? My Lord, was it that far ahead? What was my draft?

Q. Mr. Stettinius this morning said it was June 15.

Q. That's right.

Q. That's right.

Q. Your summary of the program -- international security plan.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh. To tell you the honest truth, I had forgotten I had done it.

Q. Council and world court.

Q. The wording was even the same.

Q. Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Look -- look. Don't say I am claiming authorship, because I haven't compared them. I have -- I have had an idea, not since June but way back for -- what? -- a year and a half, on certain general principles

-- two years -- that it would be different from the League of Nations, I thought a great deal more workable than the League of Nations, calling for two bodies. One, which would be for every nation -- membership on it -- large and small -- a little nation to have just as good a vote as a big nation; and secondly, a much smaller working body, talking about terms -- in terms -- technical words -- I called it council, and that would be aimed primarily at averting a future war, that would be the main function; and then third, that there would be some system of a court, or courts, for the judicial determination of disputes between nations.

Well, I think we all want to avoid putting (meaning put) the future peace of the world and the settlement of disputes, working out all kinds of things, like food problems and financial problems and everything else, into a -- onto a non-partisan basis. Well, you all got that. I don't remember doing it, but anyway, back in June I had the same idea I have had for a year and a half before, and a lot of other people have done it.

It's like back in 1933, when I sent a Message to Congress about the C.C.C. (Civilian Conservation Corps) camps, and they authorized them. And we started the C.C.C. camps. Well, it was something I had been thinking about a great deal, and I had, as a result -- after they got going, after everybody liked them -- I didn't claim -- I didn't claim authorship of them -- I did send a Message to Congress -- I had, I suppose, seven or eight letters from people who said, "I wrote you in

nineteen hundred and twenty-nine that we ought to have some kind of camps," or "I wrote you in 1930 and outlined the whole plan. Will you please give me credit for the idea."

Well, I suppose there were five hundred people that have brought the idea of C.C.C. camps to my mind. I happened -- purely happened to be in a position where I could properly recommend it to Congress.

Now, this idea of the nations -- relationships between nations after the war, credit should not go to any one person. People have been talking about it, and I have been talking about it on and off the stump since 1919. I was for the League of Nations. I did all I could to get it. I wasn't the author of it.

Now, on this -- on this plan that they are talking about at Dumbarton Oaks, nobody is the author of it. It's a general idea, and they are putting it down on paper in such form that all the nations of the world can talk it over before they all express their views in a meeting. Nothing is hard and fast. This is the very first step.

And it is obvious they have got to have some kind of an organization -- might be called judicial, that is the first step. When they get to that stage, they will take it before a judicial body. If that doesn't work, the next step is to have some kind of meeting place where they will talk it over. Call it the assembly, for want of a better term. I will take a better term if anybody will suggest it.

And if anybody starts to kick over the traces and violate the frontiers of a neighbor country, got to have quick action, got to have quick action by some small body, because the time in that case, when you start bombing somebody or invading them, you can't have a man -- call him whatever you will -- send out notices that there will be a meeting next month on this subject. Next month might be too late. You have got to have a small body that can act quickly for all the other nations. There are various ways of talking about that. That is why this preliminary conference is being held at Dumbarton Oaks. They are not making final decisions, they are going to make recommendations to all the nations -- to all the United Nations of the world.

Well, that's the -- that's the -- what? -- the common sense point of view of what the differences are about, including the political aspects.

Q. Well, Mr. President, you said it was your idea that this body should be different from the League of Nations and more workable. In what way is it going to be different?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there again I think that you all have to get out the League of Nations and read the Covenant, and you would find that it was very, very different in so far as this body has gone.

The League of Nations had no means within the Covenant of taking up all kinds of questions like -- well, things we have discussed already: international food. They had no labor organization, they had no financial organization

for world finances. This one would. They had no method by which a council could enforce peace in the world. This one would. And so -- I mean, if I were to sit down and go over it, I could find fifty different reasons why the two things are different.

Q. Mr. President, you seem to be suggesting that the questions of food and finance and other rather dissimilar points would be tied into this security organization, which is at variance with what Mr. Hull has said.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No.

Q. (continuing) He says he wants the security organization alone and divorced from the points of food and finance.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I -- I don't think he did. That would go before the assembly. The question of food would probably go before the council, except in case of an emergency, where you wanted quick action before you could get the assembly together. It all ties in to the same thing.

Q. Another point in which there has been a great deal of interest in Washington is what mechanisms you might favor to translate decisions of the council into forceful sanctions on the part of the United States. Would there be reference to the American Congress, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think we have got nearly as far as that yet. I think, again, we are emphasizing the details not the great object. We are very apt to forget the great object.

And a very good illustration is, in 1920 I was addressing a very big meeting out of doors up in Michigan -- an out of doors meeting, there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand people -- and I got to talking about the League.

And some woman got up and said, "I can't be for the League of Nations, it legalizes white slavery." (laughter)

I said, "Where?"

So she trotted out article something, which authorized the League to set up machinery to -- the objective was perfectly clear -- to put down white slavery by international agreement. And she construed it, because it did not say "put down" -- it used the word which meant to work together, to eliminate -- I have forgotten what the word was, you can dig it out -- but she assumed that it meant to regulatewhite slavery, and therefore to approve white slavery.

Well, I had a violent discussion with her, and we both left the meeting thoroughly angry.

Now that -- that's what comes of bringing politics or partisanship, or -- well, the old word I had used before: picayune -- by the way, I found George Washington used that word -- (laughter) -- to bring -- to bring carping -- carping discussions into the details of a thing like white slavery, or any other current thing.

Now, I don't know what -- how they are going to word anything in regard to the elimination of war, but stepping on it before it grows up. We all know what we mean. I can't

give you the details of it, but we are at one -- almost -- in this country, in wanting to end future wars by stepping on their necks before they grow up.

Now that's plain English. For details, go to a political rally.

Q. Mr. President, have you had a chance to read the documents presented by the other nations in the Dumbarton conferences?

THE PRESIDENT: I have read -- I have read them in part. I haven't finished them. They are in my basket.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-19 -- Page 108 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #967
Executive Office of the President
September 8, 1944 -- 10.56 A.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: Very lovely this morning.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Not planning on a trip are you?

(laughter)

Q. Yes, sir. Are you?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, before the first of the year.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: All in?

MR. ROMAGNA: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Yesterday afternoon, I received from Mr. Byrnes a complete -- very technical report on industrial demobilization -- oh, it was quite large. I have skimmed through it, but I am not sufficiently equipped to go into the details, so I asked Justice Byrnes to have a seminar this afternoon at four o'clock for those of you who care for details of that kind, for release on ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) Sunday morning, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Sunday morning.

And the Army already announced its plans for demobilization, and I don't know whether it has been printed. These plans and policies were based on the cross-section of what they got -- the expressed wishes of the soldiers themselves, all over this country and overseas, in every theatre of operations. Of the thousands of soldiers that were interviewed, 90 percent were

reported to have expressed the desire for that type of demobilization. It's the War Department that formulated it.

On the Navy end, of course, we are not demobilizing in any way, in case Germany goes, because we have Japan on our hands.

Four o'clock this afternoon -- anybody interested in going to a seminar -- no cost. (laughter)

MR. EARLY: I would take this one next, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: What? Oh, Yes. I wrote the Secretary of State the other day, in fact day before yesterday, a letter, which is -- I think I had better read it. It's -- (reading, not literally): "During the past half century, the United States has developed a tradition in opposition to private monopolies."

Steve has this for you, so you needn't take it down -- you can get it.

(continuing reading, not literally): "The Sherman and Clayton Acts have become as much a part of the American way of life as the due process clause of the Constitution. By protecting the consumer against monopoly these statutes guarantee him the benefit of -- benefits of competition.

"This policy goes hand in glove with the liberal principles of international trade for which you have stood through many years of public service. The trade agreement program has as its objective the elimination of barriers to the free flow of trade in international commerce; the anti-trust statutes aim at the elimination of monopolistic restraints of trade

in inter-state and foreign commerce.

"Unfortunately, a number of foreign countries, particularly in continental Europe, do not possess such a tradition against cartels. On the contrary, cartels are receiving encouragement from some of these governments. Especially is this true with respect to Germany. Moreover, private cartels were utilized by the Nazis as governmental instruments in achieving political ends. The history of the use of the I. G. Farben trust by the Nazis reads like a detective story. The defeat of the Nazi armies will have to be followed by the eradication of these weapons of economic warfare. But more than the elimination of the political activities of German cartels will be required. Cartel practices which restrict the free flow of goods in foreign commerce will have to be curbed. With international trade involved this end can be achieved only through collaborative action by the United Nations.

"I hope that you will keep your eye on this whole subject of international cartels, because we are approaching the time when discussions will almost certainly arise between us and other nations."

And it's a very important subject. They are all ready in the State Department to go ahead, and the Department of Justice, of course, has dug up a lot of facts for them, and it is going to be one of the important elements in the next six months.

Q. (interposing) Mr. ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) The -- what?

Q. Excuse me, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead. I had only one little short thing here, on the general economic situation in -- in Italy. (Brigadier) General (William) O'Dwyer is coming back to give me a report. It should be realized that it has been serious, this economic situation, because the Germans deliberately destroyed public utilities in essential industries whenever they had the chance. We all know, for instance, about the destruction in Naples; and in the area just north of Rome, which we have recently liberated, the Germans destroyed 94 percent of the electric power production as they retreated. They have destroyed roads, bridges, and other means of transport, in addition, of course, to the destruction caused by military operations in fighting.

And the net result has been a shortage of vital necessities such as food, clothing, medical supplies, and a widespread problem of distributing such supplies as were left behind by the Germans, or which escaped the ravages of war. To prevent starvation and disease, and general suffering, the military authorities have been called on to bring into Italy substantial quantities of vital civilian supplies. They are as essential to the successful progress of the campaign as the guns and shells that are furnished to the soldiers.

When these supplies reach Italy, as they are now -- as they are now, they will be placed in the ordinary channels of trade and sold to Italian consumers for lira. The cost is charged to the -- by the Allied governments to the Italian

government. So eventually we will be repaid for -- for the bulk of them. Both the U. S. and the U. K. have been furnishing -- in other words, don't assume they are gifts -- the U.K. and the U.S. have been furnishing civilian supplies needed as part of the military objective.

The extent to which each country has borne its part of the war burden, so far, has depended largely on the supply and shipping situation. In general, we have made available what we have been in the best position to supply, and the United Kingdom has furnished what has been available out of its own resources. Between the U.S. and Great Britain we have put into Italy more than a hundred million dollars' worth of all kinds of supplies, including fuel -- winter is coming on, and so forth. Most of the fuel has come from -- from England, and most of the agricultural and food supplies have come from us.

You have to remember that in Italy we have got 45 million people, with a land area less than the State of California -- very poor natural resources -- very much devastated by war. It will need considerable additional assistance, if it is to stand on its own feet as a free, democratic country. We are trying, so that is why General O'Dwyer is coming here this afternoon.

The United States and the U.K. are now at work determining what supplies in the near future are necessary, in addition to those already sent in to supplement and maintain Italian agriculture and essential industry. That is being worked on now.

I think that's all I have got.

Q. Mr. President, is the possibility of UNRRA moving into Italy being considered in this connection?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but we haven't decided yet. In the middle of study.

Q. Mr. President, in connection with your letter to Secretary Hull, Mr. Sumner Welles in his recent book The Time For Decision says that it is the plan of the German general staff to use their contacts through international cartels to build up their preparations for a third world war. Do you share that apprehension?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I hadn't heard anything definite on that. It is to be supposed that they would, under present circumstances.

Q. Mr. President, have you had any peace overtures from within Germany?

THE PRESIDENT: Had any what?

Q. Peace overtures from within ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No. No.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any progress report on the Dumbarton Oaks conference that you could make available to us, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Haven't got anything today. I think they are -- I think they are pretty nearly through. Made excellent progress.

Q. Mr. President, at one time you said, I believe, that you would answer during the campaign any mistatements

or misrepresentations you felt had been made by the Republican candidate, and I was wondering ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Didn't I say I would -- didn't I say I would feel free to? (laughter)

Q. Something like that, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir. I didn't say I would. (more laughter) Keep the record straight.

Q. That's right.

Q. Well, in that connection, I was wondering if you felt that any had been made?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I will tell you. I didn't hear it. One member of the family heard, and told me about it, and I read about half of it so far, but I don't feel quite free to comment at the present time, because I haven't finished it.

Q. Mr. President, there was a quotation by General Hershey, and Dewey seemed to take that as the Administration's point of view.

THE PRESIDENT: I hadn't read it. Who? What about? Demobilization?

Q. No. It was on -- quoting Hershey as saying we can keep people in the Army as cheaply as we can create an agency for them when they are out.

THE PRESIDENT: Isn't that part of General Hershey's work?

Q. Apparently ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Doesn't ---

Q. (continuing) According to Dewey, he made that

statement at a press conference.

THE PRESIDENT: Isn't it his job to get people into the Army?

Q. Not my question. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Pretty good reply too, Pete (Brandt). (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, another point. He said that the Administration was afraid to demobilize as rapidly as it could, because it was cheaper to keep them in the Army. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I think you can say that the President smiled broadly, Jim. Fair answer to it? Said nothing. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, do you consider your Administration a "tired, quarrelsome, and defeatist Administration"?

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) Well, only in this way, what I have said before: I would like to go home to Hyde Park -- not because I am tired or defeated. (continued laughter)

(rather long pause here)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Took them a long time to reach that conclusion. You ought to give Merriman (Smith) some applause when he does that. (laughter)

MR. EARLY: Very well. Very good.

THE PRESIDENT: That was all right.

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

(Notebook PC-19 -- Page 154 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #968
Held on the Parapet at The Citadel in Quebec, Canada
September 16, 1944, at about 3.45 p.m., e.w.t.

(this is a joint press conference of the President, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada)

(three chairs were placed against the wall in the shade. The President sat in the center, with Prime Minister Churchill on his right, and Prime Minister Mackenzie King on his left)

(a warm and sunny afternoon)

MR. EARLY: Here they come. (the newspapermen)

Q. Here's the invasion.

MR. EARLY: Here they come.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (to Mrs. Churchill and Princess Alice walking by) Don't go away. Stop here. Why are they going away? They're being hustled away. They would be interested to hear. Tell Mrs. Churchill to come back. (they did)

(Prime Minister Churchill got up and went over and spoke to the newspapermen, after which

they made the semi-circle wider around the three principals, and sat cross-legged on the floor)

MRS. CHURCHILL: (aside) I can think of lots of things to say.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (to the newspapermen) That's better.

THE PRESIDENT: Ah, that's better.

Q. There's Fala. (trotting unconcernedly into the semi-circle)

MRS. CHURCHILL: I think I ought to be behind and out of the way.

MR. EARLY: No, no -- you're all right.

Q. Here we are sitting on the floor.

(more commotion from newsreel cameras and flash bulbs)

Q. I hope none of them fall off that wall.

Q. Who is throwing those flash bulbs?

Q. Please get down, please.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (to a tall newspaperman) They want you to hedge back there, if you can. You're in the line of fire. Clouding the rain. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Who gives us the cue?

Q. What?

Q. All in. (laughter)

Q. I believe it's all right to start, sir.

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: The President will proceed to address you.

VOICES: Sh - sh - sh.

THE PRESIDENT: The Prime Minister of Canada asked me to address you in a formal manner, but we have never done a thing like that before in a press conference yet, and I hope I won't have to begin -- (more cries of "Sh - sh") -- in Quebec.

This is a press conference, I am told, in the usual manner ---

VOICES: (interposing) Down -- down there.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- limited as usual, in Quebec, to the principal speakers, not to the correspondents. In other words, it's -- no questions will be asked of us, which I think we are all agreed is rather nice for us. (laughter)

The conference -- the outstanding fact is that this conference has taken less time, less argument, and a complete unanimity, faster and more easily, than any conference that we have had yet, and this I think is the tenth or the eleventh.

We have been very happy to come back to Quebec, and to be the guests of the Governor General -- in this most delightful of spots -- and the Prime Minister, and I think to a large degree the people of Canada. We have been very happy these past few days. I wish I did not have to go away, but we both have to -- very soon.

We have taken up all manner of things, east ---

Q. (interposing) Could you make it slower, Mr. President, please?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Slower, sir?

Q. (adding) And louder?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) (laughing) --- east and west. We have reached not only a complete unanimity, but we have made plans as far as any persons can make plans today. You know how fast things are moving, over on the -- the German front, and also what good progress we have made in the Pacific. On these matters we have had many talks about the next major operation. We are not giving a date to the time when they will begin, because we are not willing, yet, to put a specific date on the surrender of Germany. We hope it will come. The quicker the better.

When that ends, the Allies are going to start in to do as fast a job as they possibly can in the war against Japan. The Prime Minister and ourselves are in accord to work it together -- our armies, our navies and our air -- in bringing the war against Japan to a quick conclusion.

And in that I may say that we are all looking forward to having the Dominion take part in that war. We are making plans already for that particular operation. We in the United States have been fighting alongside of the Canadians, and we are going to keep on fighting alongside of them all the way across the Pacific, until the empire of Japan surrenders. In other words, we are going to see this thing through together. We

are going to make certain of ending barbarism in the Pacific.

On those operations, we have to remember a simple thing, and that is at a distance not of three thousand miles but of nearly six thousand miles, a new element enters into the conduct of that war, the element of what we call in the staff circles logistics. We cannot order a navy or any part thereof to a sector of the Pacific, or a landing, or an army, or an air force to a given point, without taking care of them when they get there. In other words, we have to provide fuel and food and ammunition of all kinds to maintain the campaign once we have crossed the ocean. That means endless planning, as you know.

I note -- and you can leave this off the record, if you want to -- that there has been some discussion of individuals, of who will command in the Pacific. I go back to certain occasions in Washington when I pleaded with people to look at their map.

There are three major commands in the Pacific today. One is the command under Lord Mountbatten, who was here last year; another is the extreme southern one under General MacArthur; and the third is the command of the floating part of the operations under Admiral Nimitz, whose headquarters are in Hawaii. You will recognize, of course, that because of the distances involved all the way to Ceylon, all the way to Australia and New Zealand, and all the way north to the Aleutians, and all the territory in -- in between, it isn't a question of one person running the whole show. Human beings are not capable

of transferring themselves mentally to the conduct of large operations during that whole -- over that whole distance.

And, therefore, I might say that the impressions some people have got, that we talked about the problem of command of the Pacific, unfortunately arose purely from the imagination. We haven't talked about the problems of command once. I think this is the first time that anybody has ever mentioned it. And that -- that is -- that is worth the searching thought, that geography is still a major science.

Q. Mr. President, is that off the record? I didn't quite understand ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) If you want to, I would like to put it on the record -- you can put it on the record. I didn't mean it as a slam at anybody, but there has been so much discussion in the papers about -- talking about the supreme command, that it is only fair to say that this is the first time that it has been mentioned.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: That is all right.

THE PRESIDENT: What? Yes. You can leave it on the record, if you want to.

On this question of logistics, we have been confronted primarily with the problem of finding room and opportunity for marshalling all the Allied forces against Japan. It isn't a question of numbers. We have got plenty of numbers of people, we have plenty of materials located all over the world. The difficulty is to bring together the men and the materials at the point of contact with the enemy. All of us want to be

engaged, and it is a very small front -- so much sea space, so much land space -- that we find it difficult to use all of the opportunities of men and munitions that we have.

I don't think that there is anything else that I can say, except to repeat that there has been an extraordinary unanimity. We planned as far as people can plan for the future in days like these, when things are happening -- new things are happening -- every day, and every week.

We are awfully glad to have been here again. It is becoming a little like home to us, and we believe -- I think that Prime Minister Churchill and I believe that Quebec is the ideal spot for one of these conferences, especially when we have Prime Minister King and the Governor General as our hosts.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: Mr. President and gentlemen, I have been pressing the President for several weeks to let us have another meeting. Our affairs are so intermingled, our troops are fighting in the line together, and our plans for the future are so interwoven that it is not possible to conduct these great affairs and to fulfill these large, combined plans without frequent meetings between the principals, between the heads of the governments, and also between the high officers on each side. It is nearly nine months since we were together in Cairo, and I felt that a further conference was much overdue.

It is a year since we met here. Well, no one can say that the conference last year was simply of an idle and agreeable character. (laughter) Out of it came decisions which

are now engraved upon the monuments of history. Out of it came arrangements by which the vast armies were hurled across the sea, forced their way on shore in the teeth of the enemy's fire and fortification, broke up his armed strength and liberated, almost as if by enchantment, the dear and beautiful land of France, so long held under the corroding heel of the Hun.

All this took its being in our meeting last year, and was carried to a higher and finer point by the subsequent conversations at Teheran, in which our Russian ally took part.

This conference has met under happier auspices than any other we have had. We cannot but feel that onelarge part of our tasks is steadily and surely approaching completion. The completion of that task leads to other problems of a military and quasi-military character, which have to be understood in common by the two great western powers, in order that the events which will follow the suppression of all resistance by Germany may seem to wear the same aspect of design as have been -- have been -- as have the military operations the -- the -- the -- themselves.

But that is not the whole nor even the main part of our work. We have had to consider the extraordinarily complicated processes by which, after the downfall and unconditional surrender of the Nazi power, the enormous forces now gathered in Europe can be applied in as large a degree as possible, with as much shrewdness as possible, and as soon as possible, to the reduction of the fighting capacity of Japan, and to bend that evil and barbarous nation to the will of those they

have outraged, and at whose feet they will presently be suppliant.

A curious feature in this conference has struck me. I read some of the papers when I am over here, these great big papers about an inch thick -- (laughter) -- very different from the little sheets with which we get on in Great Britain. I read these papers, and I see from time to time suggestions that the British wish to shirk their obligations in the Japanese war, and to throw the whole burden onto the United States.

And that astonished me very much, because as a matter of fact, the --the conference has been marked by exactly the opposite tendency. If there was any point of difference which had to be adjusted, it was that we undoubtedly felt that the United States meant to keep too much of it to themselves -- (laughter) -- and -- or some of them did -- some of the representatives.

But I am glad to say we have arrived at thoroughly amicable agreement, and that Great Britain with her fleet and her air forces and, according to whatever plans are made, her military forces, all that can be carried by the shipping of the world to the scene of action will be represented in the main struggle with -- with -- with Japan.

And we shall go on to the end.

You can't have all the good things to yourselves. You must share. (laughter)

And of course, Mr. Mackenzie King and the Dominion of Canada came up and said that they -- they insisted on having

their part assigned to them too. And that is the feeling. It isn't a question of people shirking an awkward and painful job. It was a question of a stern resolve of all parties to assert their right to be in at the death, with forces proportionate to their national -- national strength.

So -- so what? (laughter)

So that, I think, may be -- may be -- may be given full publicity -- (laughter) -- may be given full publicity. (more laughter)

As to the plans we have made, we didn't tell you about them from day to day as we were making them, because we thought you would rather hear from us, at the -- at the -- at the press conference at the end of our meetings, that we wouldn't be able to tell you about them at all. (laughter) I sympathize very much, as an old former journalist and war correspondent, with the many able representatives of the press who waited here from day to day, but I know they understood; and this time they were -- they were left in no doubt. (more laughter) They are -- these -- all these matters have to be -- have to be secret, and there cannot be any -- any detailed -- detailed information given here from day to day, or even at the end of the proceedings.

The enemy will learn soon enough, in due course, all that we have decided here. I think we said this last year, now I come to think of it -- almost these very words. (laughter) Well, they have learned. What was then secret is now public. What was then concealed is now apparent. What was then in

the egg is now afoot. (laughter) What was then a tender sprout has become a gigantic forest tree. What was then design has become a blow, a mortal blow to the greatest of military powers which have ranged themselves up against civilization and the progress of the world.

So let it be with this conference, and let it carry with it the seeds -- the seeds of -- of a future victory, a victory which I earnestly trust may be achieved at the -- within the shortest limit of time. But, as to that, no one can tell.

This is a struggle not only against the Japanese but over the vast distances of the Pacific ocean and the continent of Asia. But just in the same way as we worked out all the details with our able staffs, all the details of the invasion -- of the liberating invasion of Europe, so that it worked like a piece of clockwork, I cannot doubt that our planning resources and our material and mechanical resources will be capable of confronting Japan with problems even more painful and even more difficult than those which Hitler and his lieutenant Rommel failed so conspicuously to solve.

The main object of this conference has been the focussing, with the utmost rapidity, of all the resources of the grand alliance of the western democracies upon -- upon Japan. That guilty and greedy nation must be stripped of the power to molest and disturb the peace of the world, and must be forced to -- to take a place where neither their virtues nor their vices can inflict miseries upon their fellowmen.

I asked my right honorable friend Mr. Eden, the

Foreign Secretary, to come out and see me, and I see a lot of speculation has arisen upon that point, but I don't know why there should.

People have said, "Oh, we thought it was going to be a purely military conference, and here the President brings up the Secretary to the Treasury, and the Prime Minister asks the Foreign Secretary to fly out to see him. What is all this?"

But the business of government, in these times, is all one, and when I have the rare and fortunate chance to meet the President of the United States, we are not limited in our discussions by any sphere. We talk over the whole position in every aspect -- the military, economic, diplomatic, financial. All -- all is examined. And obviously that should be so. And the fact that we have worked so long together, and the fact that we have got to know each other so well under the hard stresses of war, makes the solution of problems so much simpler, so swift and so easy it is.

What an ineffectual method of conveying human thought correspondence is -- (laughter) -- telegraphed with all its rapidity, all the facilities of our -- of modern inter-communication. They are simply dead, blank walls compared to personal -- personal contacts. And that applies not only to the President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, it applies to our principal officers who at every stage enter in the closest association, and have established friendships which have greatly aided the tasks and the toil of our fighting troops.

Now I cannot pretend to be talking to you in an

humble frame of mind. Thank God, we have been blessed with so much good fortune, far more than we deserve; but the fact remains we have conducted successful war, beginning from small beginnings and at great disadvantage, against the most powerful embattled forces. We have conducted successful war on a scale -- and I cannot refrain from saying with a measure of success, which certainly you will go far to match, and further still to surpass.

Do not fear about the future. The same -- the same processes that have led us from the dark days of Dunkirk, and the Americans from the dark days of Pearl Harbor, to our present situation when the skies are clearing and when the remaining objectives are becoming singularly plainly isolated and defined, the same processes can be applied and will bring the toiling millions of the world the quicker out of this burden of trial. Then, indeed, there will be happiness, when the long strain of the heavy burden of war is ended, and when we turn also with provision and preparation to the task of rebuilding, and when the human heart -- relieved from its burden, from the burdens of anxiety, from the exceptional toil, from the anxieties of the loss of dear ones -- will have a resurgence of hope which cannot but repay the toil and sacrifices we have undergone.

I have enjoyed this conference very much. It has been conducted in a blaze of friendship. I never have seen more close and complete unity, apart from this little friction about our having our proper share. (laughter) Apart from

that, which is very satisfactorily adjusted, it has been the most agreeable of all the conferences which I have ever attended. And may I say that I hope that if we should meet here again in another year, we shall be able to -- to -- to tell you more about the plans we have made than it is open to us to do on the present occasion. (applause)

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Mr. President, Mr. Churchill, ladies and gentlemen. May I say, first, one word before the afternoon conference breaks up. I should like, on behalf of the government of Canada, to express to the members of the press our very warm appreciation of the manner in which you have all cooperated with the government and its officials here, in helping to make this conference as expeditious and as efficient in its progress as it has proven to be. We have all been anxious, knowing the demands of the time -- the moments today -- to do whatever would facilitate these proceedings as rapidly as possible. As you have seen, the week has gone by very, very quickly.

I should like also to take advantage of this moment to say, on behalf of the government, to His Excellency the Governor General, and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, how much the government appreciates their kindness in extending the hospitality of their summer residence at The Citadel to the distinguished visitors, and therefore giving up, during the course of this week, the entire residence to our guests for their pleasure as well as accommodation, and for their efforts in meeting together to discuss the questions that are before them.

It has been an added pleasure to us that Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Churchill have both found it possible to be in Canada at the same time, and I would like to express our pleasure at that.

May I also say, Mr. President and Mr. Churchill -- Mr. Prime Minister, how honored the people of Canada feel that Quebec has again been chosen as the center for the conference. At any time that Canada can afford to be host at a conference for those who are seeking to bring together the nations of the world in bonds of friendship and peace, we shall be able to afford, I imagine, some ideal spot in Canada, Quebec or elsewhere, and will do so with the greatest pride and pleasure.

In behalf of the Canadian people, may I just say this word, in conclusion, to the members of the press. Personally, I share one feeling very strongly, in common with the President and Mr. Churchill, that there hasn't been an opportunity, in the course of this conference, to see as much of the members of the press individually as would -- might otherwise have been possible. I should be very happy if you would, this evening, be so kind as to give me the honor and pleasure of dining with me at the Chateau Frontenac, and meeting members of the Canadian staff who are here, that we may have just a chance to have a word together before we depart to other parts of the world.

Q. Thank you.

Q. Thank you very much.

Copies of this press and radio conference for:

Prime Minister Winston Churchill

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King

Admiral Wilson Brown

Stephen T. Early

(Notebooks PC-19 -- 168; PC-20 -- 1 to 11 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #969
Executive Office of the President
September 22, 1944 -- 10.55 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I think the only thing I have got is I have signed H. R. 4278. I will read you the title. Steve (Early) has got copies of a two-page memorandum that accompanies the signature of the bill, in regard principally to rural electrification. The bill has flocks of titles, to provide for the control and eradication of certain human -- No, not human -- animal and plant pests and diseases -- (laughter) -- to facilitate cooperation with the States in fire control, to provide for the more efficient protection and management of the national forests, to facilitate the carrying out of agricultural conservation and related agricultural programs, to facilitate the operation of the Farm Credit Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration, to aid in the orderly marketing of agricultural commodities, and for other purposes. Almost everything.

But the memorandum which Steve will give you as you go out is in regard to the rural electrification end of it. It extends the present Rural Electrification Act. It calls attention to the fact that there are still seven million homes in this country that haven't got any electricity, which is rather an amazing thing. I won't tell you any more about it because there's a -- because <u>there's</u> a thing to write about.

That's all.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Dewey said last night that your Administration was saturated with a defeatist theory?

THE PRESIDENT: With a what?

Q. With a defeatist theory that America is past its prime. He said that several times, and I wondered if you would comment on it?

THE PRESIDENT: No, certainly not. You think so?

Q. No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: No. Neither do I.

Q. That's the reason I asked you to comment on it. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: That's an awful thing at five minutes to eleven to be hit with, that America is past its prime. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, in your Message to Congress yesterday, recommending the Missouri Valley Authority, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- you attached a Resolution by nine Missouri River Governors.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) Did that mean that you endorsed the Resolution as well as the Missouri Valley Authority idea?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't -- I -- that's an awfully general question. I would have to re-read the Resolution for every word.

Q. (interposing) They asked ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I don't know. I

endorsed the general idea of providing in some way for the development of the Missouri River Valley. That's about the -- that's what the Resolution -- that's what my Message said.

Q. The Governors' Resolution asked, among other things, that the present bills embody the Bureau of Reclamation's basin proposals and the Army Engineers' proposals, both passed by Congress. I just wondered if you agreed with that recommendation?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, in other words, one -- one bill is the Army Engineers and gives the work to the Army Engineers, and that is endorsed; and the other one is the Department of the Interior bill, that gives the work to them.

Q. (interjecting) Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Do the bills go along hand in hand to give the work both to the Army Engineers and to the Department of the Interior?

Q. The Governors asked that those differences be reconciled, sir. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I think you have answered the question yourself.

Q. Mr. President, during the past week there has been a lot of discussion on Capitol Hill regarding Pearl Harbor. Do you intend to order the courts martial of Admiral Kimmel and General Short?

THE PRESIDENT: Aren't there two committees that are working on it now?

Q. Sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Aren't there two committees that are working on it now?

Q. I believe so.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it may be just as well to hear from them?

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, it has been charged that -- it was denied yesterday and repeated again -- that this Government had information 72 hours in advance of Pearl Harbor.

THE PRESIDENT: Anybody with information of that kind had better submit it to one of these boards that is investigating it now, that's the proper place to go. There will be lots of things like that, flocks of them -- morning, noon and night -- until the seventh of November.

Q. Mr. President, could you indicate that Mr. (Donald) Nelson (of W.P.B.) is about ready to come back from China?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw it in the papers. I haven't had anything from him.

Q. Could you tell us anything about it?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't had anything from him at all.

Q. No word at all?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, on China, sir, there have been reports from the correspondents in China that the Chinese situation is truly desperate, and these reports pass through Chinese censorship and through American censorship, so that would

indicate that there would be some accuracy in them. Would you care to comment on the Chinese position, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't tell you any more than I told you two months ago, that the Chinese situation is not at all satisfactory, and that is primarily, of course, from the military point of view; and since then they've retreated quite a bit further. That's about all that anyone here can say.

Q. Could you tell us anything about Mr. Nelson's mission, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, all I know is that he and General Hurley are in very close touch with the Generalissimo, and they are getting along as fast as any two people can.

Q. Mr. President, can you give us any idea of what you are going to speak about tomorrow night?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I haven't read it yet. (laughter, especially from Mr. Early)

Q. You say you haven't read it yet?

THE PRESIDENT: Steve's laughing. What I mean is I have dictated -- oh, what was it? -- beginning about the time I went to Quebec I dictated what I call scraps -- I suppose that had better be off the record. As you know, I -- I have various ways of preparing speeches. The usual way, when I have plenty of time, is to sit down on the sofa and dictate about -- say six thousand words for a three-thousand-word speech. Then various people go over it, and I go over what they say -- comments, or things that they suggest -- and then I re-dictate it. And by the time I have re-dictated it, it gets down to

a second draft; and sometimes, as you know, I have been to Hyde Park and find some speeches where there have been seven drafts.

MR. EARLY: (aside) Eight.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And the other way is to do scraps, as I call scraps; that is to say, dictation of something running from half a page to three pages, when I had a bright idea -- I mean, I thought it was bright -- other people don't. (laughter)

Well, I sent down from Quebec -- I suppose I sent some scraps. Some of them were amusing, too. And I did one or two of them at Hyde Park, but they just didn't make a speech because they weren't, in all cases, related. So yesterday I had four different people take these scraps -- which made a lot, there must have been about six thousand words in the scraps, which means sixty minutes -- and sort them out, and it gave me an idea of how I could fit them in. I went over it, and spent about an hour and a half, and dictated a speech.

Q. (interposing) One ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And I am still having -- I am still having bright ideas.

Q. Is one of those scraps, Mr. President, related to Governor Dewey's statement ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh now -- wait. You know, this speech is to be delivered tomorrow night, not tonight. (laughter) You know, that's not even subtle to ask it that way. (more laughter) Not even subtle. So I am going at it, as soon as you good people get out of this room, and I have

seen -- who is it? -- I am seeing Dan Tobin this morning.

MR. EARLY: Three appointments today now, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. So I am going to go at it again, on the third or fourth draft, and do it probably again tonight. And what will turn up at the end I don't know, and I wouldn't tell you if I did. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, has the decision been taken to accord provisional recognition to the French Committee?

THE PRESIDENT: Don't think there is any news on that at all. I haven't heard of it for two weeks.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President -- sir, we have already had some denials here of a story from London that American officers and Red Cross officials are operating in wolf's clothing as business men in Europe, but I wondered if you would make any -- add any comment of your own?

THE PRESIDENT: I only -- to tell you the honest truth -- I only read it -- what was it? -- yesterday morning. I haven't heard anything about it, and I saw the Secretary of State yesterday and I forgot to ask him about it. So I don't know. Don't know anything about it.

Q. Mr. President, is there any general comment you can make about the war situation?

THE PRESIDENT: About the what?

Q. The war situation at present?

THE PRESIDENT: No. As a matter of fact, it has got down to such a fine point now -- the morning papers and the

afternoon papers, they are just about as up to date as the Government is. We are getting excellent news service right from the front, and time and again the War Department-Navy Department dispatches come over to my desk ten or fifteen minutes or a half-hour after I have read the same thing in the papers. That attack on -- a very good example -- the attack on Manila was a very brilliant achievement, and took the Japs apparently entirely by surprise. I read it in my morning paper, and didn't get the dispatch until nearly an hour later. It was the stuff they gave me -- I don't know what the dateline is, I think it's being given out there. So the public is getting everything there is as fast as it comes out.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, have there been any other plans for speeches beyond October 5th?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, when do you expect to make the appointments under the new War Mobilization and Reconversion law?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't signed the bill yet, have I?

Q. I don't think you have, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: No. (laughter) Well, we had better get a law before we think about that.

Q. Mr. President, how do you feel about the Italian political situation?

THE PRESIDENT: That's an awfully general question.

Q. (interjecting) For example, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I don't -- I don't like lynchings, if that's what you mean.

Q. (aside) What?

Q. (aside) Doesn't like lynchings.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) But otherwise -- that is one thing, at Quebec, Mr. Churchill and I talked a great deal about -- the two subjects that go together, gradually placing more responsibility on the Italian government, so that they will more and more be responsible for the well-being of the people of Italy, because we honestly want all the parties there not only to be together on this problem of reconstruction, but we want them to have the responsibility of it. Then the other point, that goes hand in hand, to see to it that the Italian people don't physically starve or freeze to death this winter; and I think, probably fairly soon, we will be able to announce some further steps that have been taken on it.

Q. Speaking of Quebec, Mr. President, could you give us any idea of what might have been discussed there regarding the future of Germany, how you are going to handle Germany when it goes down?

THE PRESIDENT: We talked about it a lot. There isn't anything -- there isn't anything in the way of news yet, except that we talked about it a lot.

Q. Did you talk about the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, Yes.

Q. Have you anything to say about why they have been delayed so much?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I suppose -- I suppose the easiest way of looking at it is that it is the -- the first of a good many conferences in which we are trying to work out a world that will be probably free from wars, and you just don't call a conference in the morning and solve that largest of human problems by four o'clock in the afternoon.

On the whole, it worked out very, very well, especially on a percentage basis. You have -- oh -- say a hundred problems to talk over -- mind you, this is only three powers -- and agree on ninety percent of them. Well, that is what we used to call in the old days a darn good batting average. If you can do it in a few weeks and you get a ninety percent batting average, it's pretty good.

I wouldn't -- I wouldn't worry much about it.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #970
Executive Office of the President
September 29, 1944 -- 11.10 A.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Jim Wright, sitting down) Jim, how are you? Jim, how are you feeling?

MR. J. WRIGHT: First-rate, thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: All right. (then to Mr. Early) Have you got this mimeographed?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a couple of things here. The first, I am going to read, about the Argentine; and Steve is going to have it mimeographed as soon as -- while we continue the conference, and you can get it right afterwards.

(reading, not literally): "I have been following closely and with increasing concern the development of the Argentine situation in recent months. This situation presents the extraordinary paradox of the growth of Nazi-Fascist influence and the increasing application of Nazi-Fascist methods in a country of this hemisphere, at the very time that those forces of oppression and aggression are drawing ever closer to the hour of final defeat and judgment -- and judgment in Europe and elsewhere in the world. The paradox is accentuated by the fact, of which we are all quite aware, that the vast majority of the people of Argentina have remained steadfast in their faith in their own, free, democratic traditions and in their support of the nations and peoples who have been

making such great sacrifices in the fight against the Nazis and Fascists. This was made clear beyond all doubt by the spontaneous demonstration of public feeling in Argentina after words were received of the liberation of Paris.

"The policy of the Government of the United States toward Argentina as that policy has been developed in consultation with the other American Republics, has been clearly set forth by Secretary Hull. There is no need for me to re-state it now.

"The Argentine government has repudiated solemn inter-American obligations on the basis of which the nations of this hemisphere developed a system of defense to meet the challenge of Axis aggression.

"Unless we now demonstrate a capacity to develop a tradition of respect for such obligations among civilized nations, there can be little hope for a system of international security, theoretically created to maintain principles for which our peoples are today sacrificing to the limit of their resources, both human and material.

"In this connection, I subscribe wholeheartedly to the words of Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons on August second, when he declared that:

"'This is not like some small wars in the past, where all could be forgotten and forgiven. Nations must be judged by the part they play. Not only belligerents but neutrals will find that their position in the world cannot remain entirely unaffected by the part that they have chosen to play in

the crisis of the war.'"

That is what he said back in August.

(continuing reading): "I have considered it important to make this statement of the position of the Government of the United States at this time, because it has come to my attention that the Nazi radio beamed to Latin America, the pro-Nazi press in Argentina, as well as a few irresponsible individuals and groups in this and certain other Republics, seek to undermine the position of the American Republics and our associates among the United Nations by fabricating and circulating the vicious rumor that our counsels are divided on the course of our policy toward Argentina."

Well, -- Steve, take that out and have it mimeographed.

And the other one is all done -- it's a copy of a letter that I sent to Leo Crowley -- I'll just read the first sentence, and then the headlines. (reading): "In accordance with our discussions, the following are the major policies that should be put into effect by the Foreign Economic Administration, within the scope of its present functions and responsibilities, when the military resistance of Nazi Germany is overcome."

You want to be awfully careful, if you would, not to suggest, even, that I am saying that it's about to happen. I have been awfully careful in not saying at any time when the military resistance of Nazi Germany is going to be overcome. I haven't set any time, and I am not ready to set it.

The first relates to Export Control; the second

to Strategic and Critical Raw Materials; the third is Preclusive Buying; the fourth is Economic Warfare; the fifth is Lend-Lease; the sixth is Surplus Property; the seventh is Control of the War-Making Power of Germany; the eighth Reconstruction and Future Foreign Trade. I won't go -- you had better read it, it's pretty good.

I think that's all I've got.

Q. Mr. President, can that be considered to settle the reported split between Cabinet members on policy?

THE PRESIDENT: That was newspaper stories.

Q. Do you mean there was no foundation for those reports ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No, no.

Q. (continuing) --- for that split, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Every story that has come out is essentially untrue in the basic facts.

Q. Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (adding) Might emphasize the adjective essentially untrue.

Q. In the basic facts?

Q. Mr. President, there have been considerable reports that Mayor La Guardia was to have a commission this time, and was to be sent to Italy ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I haven't heard anything about it.

Q. (continuing) --- to assist the Italian government.

THE PRESIDENT: Literally, I have no news on that. I may, over the week end.

Q. You may, over the week end?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- rather expecting some news, but nothing has come in.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us when you may sign this surplus property and reconversion bill?

THE PRESIDENT: The what?

Q. Surplus property and reconversion bill?

THE PRESIDENT: Over the week end. You see my basket? (indicating)

Q. (interposing) You will sign?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I have got a most awful accumulation of mail in this basket. I am going to try to clean it up during the next day or two.

Q. Mr. President, the question was whether you will sign, is that what you mean?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, over the week end.

Q. That you will sign over the week end?

THE PRESIDENT: I will get to it in the basket. They are about fourth -- fourth the way down.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Hannegan said that you may -- you will make one speech in New York City, and that you may make another one in New York State. I wonder if you could tell us whether you have any additional plans for any other

speeches elsewhere?

THE PRESIDENT: I have none over the fifth of October.

Q. Any comment on reports, Mr. President, that the agreement has been reached to value the mark at approximately ten cents?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's -- that's an old story. I thought that was decided on about two weeks ago. Better ask the Treasury about it. Hasn't it been given out, what the value of the mark is going to be?

MR. EARLY: No, sir.

Q. No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you will have to ask the Treasury. I couldn't give that out. There may be some reason for holding it up. I had supposed it had been given out.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us whether the policies outlined in this statement to the F.E.A. were evolved at Quebec?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No, they were not. They were all done here.

Q. Well, Mr. President, does the statement of policy represent the position of this Cabinet committee, the three-member committee?

THE PRESIDENT: I -- I -- all I know is I was told it was approved all the way down the line by State, War and Treasury. It's a Crowley thing, primarily.

Q. Mr. President, we understood you are seeing the A.F.L.-C.I.O. labor committee today?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Anything you can give us on why you are seeing them at this time?

THE PRESIDENT: No. It's a revival of the old -- what we called the old Victory Committee two years ago. I haven't seen -- I haven't seen them for a long time.

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could expand the last sentence of the last paragraph of that matter about -- statement about Argentina, indicating that the Nazis are claiming that our counsels are divided? Can you tell us what -- what that claim is?

THE PRESIDENT: What was that, Steve? Have you got it? I don't know -- it's being mimeographed. I would have to see it.

Q. Mr. President, going back to the labor meeting, do you expect the discussions to include this pending case before the War Labor Board ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) I doubt it. I doubt it.

Q. (continuing) --- about the division on the Little Steel formula?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) That's one of those detailed things. I would rather talk about larger policies.

Q. Mr. President, it had been expected that possibly you would hold a meeting with this Cabinet committee in connection with the post-war Germany question. Is such a committee meeting being held?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I see them all the time. I have seen them several times. Of course, there are two things that -- everybody gets off on the wrong foot -- what do you mean by postwar? The date the German armies fold up, or the long range thing? Most people get all confused over it. A very natural thing to have happen.

Q. Mr. President, do you expect the general subject of the Little Steel formula to come up at the labor meeting?

THE PRESIDENT: I just said I doubt it. Probably going to talk about bigger things.

Q. Any comment, Mr. President, on the reported expulsion of British and American military missions from Bulgaria?

THE PRESIDENT: From where?

Q. Bulgaria.

MR. EARLY: Bulgaria.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know enough about it to -- I have only got some general impressions. You had better ask State on that. The thing changes all the time. We have had several -- what do you call them? -- quasi-missions in there, O.S.S. in Yugoslavia, and I think they are trying to round them all up now. You had better ask State.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Q. Thank you, sir.

(Notebook PC-20 -- Page 27 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #971
Executive Office of the President
October 3, 1944 -- 4.11 P.M., E.W.T.

Q. Howdo, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (to May Craig, just returned from overseas) May, how are you? Let's look at you. (shaking hands with her) How have you been? I hear a bomb came after you.

MAY CRAIG: Practically.

THE PRESIDENT: Didn't get you?

MAY CRAIG: Not quite.

THE PRESIDENT: Grand.

MR. EARLY: May, welcome home.

MAY CRAIG: Thank you.

MR. EARLY: Are you glad to be back?

MAY CRAIG: Are you telling me?

MR. EARLY: Well, sit you down. (she did)

THE PRESIDENT: I think you are entitled to that chair.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a couple of matters that I am afraid may cause you a little more work, for you may have to read two bills. It's a little difficult to do it without, unless you read them -- you really have to read them to understand them, and then maybe you won't.

The first is the Surplus War Property bill, just signed, and each bill has the -- has a statement with it.

(reading, not literally): "On February 21st --

this is mimeographed, you needn't take it down -- on February 21st, 1943, I signed an Executive Order setting up the War -- Surplus War Property Administration to direct and expedite the orderly disposition of surplus war property so far as possible under existing law, and pending action by the Congress."

That -- that -- that is an important -- an important thing to remember, that I did say "pending action by the Congress." That was in February, 1943 -- we have just got it out.

(continuing reading, not literally): "H.R. 5125, the Surplus Property Disposal Act of 1944, which is before me for signature, places the general disposition of surplus war property under a Board of three, and provides in considerable detail the methods to be pursued by the Board.

"It is with considerable reluctance that I have decided to sign it. While I am in full accord with the objectives of the bill, which are to aid reconversion from a war to a peace economy, and to facilitate the orderly disposal of surplus property, I have considerable doubt whether many provisions of the bill will not make extremely difficult the accomplishment of the objectives. There is danger that the confused methods of disposition and the elaborate restrictions imposed by the bill will in many instances delay rather than expedite reconversion and re-employment. Our surplus property should speedily be placed into channels of disposition which should provide the most jobs and the greatest good to the greatest number.

"But we must be in a position to get on with the organization of our plans for the disposition of surplus

war property. I have, therefore, concluded that it would be best to let the bill become law, in the hope that after the Surplus Property Board, provided for in the bill, has had some experience in operating under it, the Congress will give careful consideration to needed changes that may be suggested by the Board."

Then the other -- the other statement goes with Senate 2051 -- (reading, not literally): "A bill 'to amend the Social Security Act, as amended, to provide a national program for war mobilization and reconversion, and for other purposes.'

"I have signed the bill because it is important, as this bill provides, that the Office of War Mobilization should be promptly expanded and given clear statutory powers to direct and supervise the tremendous task of reconversion in all of its numerous and related phases.

"Last October, at my suggestion, Justice Byrnes set up a unit in the Office of War Mobilization to deal with war and postwar adjustment problems. The work of this unit was placed in charge of Mr. Bernard Baruch. In February of this year, Mr. Baruch and his associate Mr. Hancock made a report recommending that the coordinating powers of the Office of War Mobilization be extended to cover activities relating to reconversion, and that separate units be established in that Office to deal with the problems of Contract Settlement, War Surplus Property Disposition and Retraining and Re-employment.

"Shortly thereafter by Executive Orders, I set up

separate units in the Office of War Mobilization to deal with these problems so far as was practicable under existing law, until legislation clarifying the powers of these units and defining the basic policies to be pursued by them could be enacted by the Congress.

"Last June the Congress passed legislation establishing the Office of Contract Settlement, with adequate powers to supervise and expedite the settlement of war contracts.

"Just before its recent adjournment, the Congress passed H.R. 5125, setting up a Surplus Property Disposal Board and defining its powers, and S. 2051, the bill now before me, which expands the Office of War Mobilization into an Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, and places within it the Office of Contract Settlement, the Surplus Property -- Surplus War Property Administration, and the Retraining and Re-employment Administration.

"So far as the bill goes, it is quite satisfactory. It applies the lessons that we have learned during the war as to the need of continuing coordination of related activities to the problems of reconversion to peace. It does not and cannot, of course, eliminate the problems and difficulties of reconversion, but it goes far to expedite and facilitate their solution.

"But I feel it my duty to draw attention to the fact that the bill does not adequately deal with the human side of reconversion. When I signed the G.I. bill on June 22nd last, I expressed the hope that the Congress would also take

prompt action, when it reconvenes, on necessary legislation which is now pending, to facilitate the development of unified programs for the demobilization of civilian war workers, for their re-employment in peacetime pursuits, and for provision, in cooperation with the States, of appropriate unemployment benefits during the transition from war to peace. This bill is not adequate to obtain these ends.

"Provisions that were in the bill as it passed the Senate, to provide transportation for war workers from the place of their employment to their bona fide residence, or to the location of new employment arranged by the workers were omitted in conference. So also were the provisions, in the bill as it passed the Senate, ensuring appropriate unemployment compensation to Federal workers.

"Moreover, the bill fails to prescribe minimum standards to govern the amount and duration of unemployment benefits which should be paid by the States to all workers unavoidably out of a job during the period of transition from war to peace.

"We have rightly committed ourselves to a fair and generous treatment of our G.I. men and women. We have rightly committed ourselves to a prompt and generous policy of contract settlement to aid industry to return to peacetime work. We have rightly committed ourselves to support farm prices at a fair level during the period of reconversion. We should be no less fair in our treatment of our war workers.

"I am glad to know that the Chairman of the House

Ways and Means Committee has announced that his Committee will give consideration to further amendments of the Social Security Act after recess, and I hope that the deficiencies which I have pointed out in the bill before me will be promptly rectified."

And then an Executive Order goes along.

MR. EARLY: Those are the bills. (placing the originals on the desk)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I will sign them.

Then an Executive Order, to transfer the records, property, funds and personnel of the Office of War Mobilization and its constituent agencies. In other words, it sets up the new agencies and can immediately start transferring people and the necessary paraphernalia from the old office to the new one.

Q. Who will the new office be under, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: New office? I am just coming to it. (laughter)

(reading): "Under the law creating the new Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, the appointment of a Director must be confirmed by the Senate. The Senate will not be in session until November 14."

Which is about five weeks off.

(continuing reading, not literally): "Justice Byrnes has agreed to accept an interim appointment as Director, and will serve until the Congress reconvenes, at which time I will send to the Senate for confirmation the appointment of a

Director who will serve for the two-year term provided in the statute.

"Two years ago, I asked Mr. Justice Byrnes to leave the Supreme Court and assist me in the war effort. He has done a magnificent job. His contribution to the successful prosecution of the war is recognized by a grateful nation.

"I fully understand Mr. Justice Byrnes's expressed desire not to remain as Director for two more years. I have assured him that I will not ask him to continue to serve as Director beyond the interim term."

So that he will be in charge of setting up the new office in the meantime, between now and the time that the Senate reconvenes.

Q. Mr. President, have you got the names of the Surplus Property Board yet, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Oh, No, ---

Q. (continuing) --- or will that wait until later?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- a whole lot, twelve of them in there.

I think that's all I've got.

Q. Mr. President, you conferred recently with the labor leaders on the question of wage stabilization. Do you have any plans to confer with leaders of industry on the same subject?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think so, Yes. In fact, I have already conferred with quite a number of them.

Q. Could you be specific, sir?

Q. (interposing) Will there be any ---

Q. (interposing) Could you ---

Q. (continuing) --- single general subject, Mr. President, that you expect to deal with on Friday (Thursday) night in your talk, or would it be rather general?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't written it yet.

Q. Mr. President, you said you would confer with some leaders of industry on this wage question.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Oh, Yes.

Q. (continuing) Could you tell us whom?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because that would create invidious distinctions. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, Prime Minister Churchill said in a somewhat recent speech to Commons, that he praised America's lavish aid to China, and yesterday a Chinese military spokesman in Chungking said that it was not true, that our aid to China, to use his words, was "pitifully inadequate." Anything you can say about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose it all depends on how you define large, medium or small. I can give you some figures that -- I see no particular reason why I shouldn't -- I never have given it out before -- because as you know, we can't get goods, munitions, anything else, into China by boat -- by ship, their coast is under the occupation of the Japanese. And, therefore, there have been in the last -- ever since we have been in the war, two methods of getting materials into China. One was the overland route, as they call it, which starts from way back

near the Caspian Sea, the top end of -- nearer India, and then across the desert -- a terrific trip -- into -- well, through the top part of Tibet and then down to -- what? -- the region of Chungking.

And -- Oh, Yes -- what you have to do is look it up on the map -- we have been getting a number of goods of different kinds through that route. You have to provide the trucks. You have to actually carry the gasoline from one stop to another. That route has been -- has taken a certain tonnage into China, but it is a terribly difficult proposition, and a very long trip from the point of time, and from the point of wear and tear on the -- on the truck. It is a feasible route, but -- well, it's the route of Kubla Khan -- some of the old conquerors, and so forth, nearly all desert and awfully difficult.

We have all used what we could -- still using it -- going to keep on doing it.

The other route was the -- roughly, the route of what we call the Burma Road, that general direction from India north -- northeast India, over the end of the Himalaya Mountains. And just about the time we came into the war -- I have forgotten the exact date -- the Burma route, as it was used for vehicles with wheels at that time, was practically destroyed by the Japanese, up on the sides of the mountains, and they pulled the route down.

And then we opened up, about that time, when the Burma route became -- became impossible, after the Japanese got in there through Burma -- we started the air route over

the mountains; and the tonnage over that route was very, very small in the beginning. We have built it up constantly.

Just to give you an idea of how we have built it up, there were times only a year -- a year and a half ago, when we were taking a very few thousand tons over it a month. You have to have transport planes that will go to a great height over the tops of the Himalaya Mountains. And -- oh -- a year and a half ago, we were taking only two or three thousand tons a month over it.

Way back about that time, in conference with the Chinese, we felt that by really heroic efforts we could increase the planes that we could get over there. At that time, in going over with munitions and goods, the planes were subject to attack by Japanese fighter planes as they went over. However, we kept at it, and about a year ago we actually got up to an increase, which we looked forward to for some time, of ten thousand tons a month over that route, which is a -- a -- a very excellent performance, because we were able to take gasoline for Chennault's forces there -- the American air command -- and we could take medicine. Of course, preferably, we took over things that had as small a bulk as possible, principally gasoline and a few munitions -- bombs, and things like that, and medical supplies.

Well, we weren't satisfied with it, and we kept on going; and the story of how that air route over the mountains has grown in the past year is going to be written some day, and it will be an epic.

All I can tell you now -- I can't give you -- I

could, but I won't give you accurate figures -- we are taking over twenty thousand tons a month over the hills.

Q. Twenty, or thirty?

MR. EARLY: Twenty.

THE PRESIDENT: Over twenty, over the hill, from upper Burma right into southeastern China.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) So ---

Q. (continuing) Excuse me.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- we are very well satisfied with this performance, because it is an amazing performance.

Q. Mr. President, does that convoy consist largely of gasoline, bombs, medical supplies ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes. Oh, Yes, ---

Q. (continuing) --- and munitions?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and some other things too.

Q. Mr. President, the Chinese military council spokesman also described the Fourteenth Air Force yesterday as inconsiderable, that it would not be considered if the figures on planes were revealed. Is that a very apt description of our airplane strength in China?

THE PRESIDENT: What? What about it?

Q. The Chinese military spokesman said we had so few planes that if the figures were revealed our strength would be inconsiderable.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the easiest thing to do on that would be to dig out, of course -- I couldn't give it to you -- the destruction which Chennault's forces have caused to the Japanese in the number of ships that they have sunk, even on the coast of China and up the rivers, and the Japanese detachments and concentrations which they have broken up. So, considering the size of the force, considering that it has to be supplied from over the mountains, there again, that -- that is one of the epics that is going to be written up -- the destruction that they have wrought.

Q. Sir, could you tell us roughly what part of this twenty thousand tons a month of materials goes into Chinese hands?

THE PRESIDENT: How much they what?

Q. What part of it goes -- is put at the disposal of the Chinese government, or Chinese military forces, as against our own requirements in the Chinese theatre?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I will put it this way. Of course, a large part of the tonnage going over is gasoline for the Chennault forces and the B-29s that are operating out of China, but if you take out that one item of -- of gasoline, I would say that the overwhelming majority of all the others that go over is for the Chinese forces. The gasoline is shipped primarily for Chennault's forces and the B-29s.

Q. Mr. President, what is the reason for the sudden complaints by the Chinese on the inadequacies of the aid we have given them?

THE PRESIDENT: They would like to have more.

(laughter)

Q. Yes, I realize that.

THE PRESIDENT: There is nothing new in it. There is nothing new in it, of course. I get it about every day. It isn't exactly news to me.

Q. Well, I was wondering whether they are tying up these -- these defeats and the loss of our air bases as an explanation?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I don't know. There is nothing new in it. Of course, they are not satisfied, and they think they can get more supplies. As I say, we have pulled off an epic in what we have done over the Himalaya Mountains. We haven't yet got it so that we can take goods in by water. And when you think of the comparison, twenty thousand tons sounds like -- to me, having raised it from two thousand tons -- why that's a hell of a lot of supplies. Two 10-thousand-ton ships -- two voyages -- one voyage a month on the -- or two -- of 10-thousand-ton ships would do the equivalent. But it's -- it's an amazing performance. We have got over twenty thousand tons a month in there.

Q. Mr. President, does Mr. Nelson's mission to China have anything to do with these supply problems?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, Yes. Sure.

Q. Sir, on the other side of the world, I wonder if we could ask a question about the situation in Poland where, according to dispatches today, the resistance movement in

Warsaw has come to an end under General Bor? I wonder if there is any comment you would feel like making on that effort?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that I had better set a good example. I suppose I know as much about that particular thing as any American, and I don't know enough to talk about it.

Q. I see.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can say about the speeches you will make between now and November 7th?

THE PRESIDENT: No, Jim (Wright). It's literally true that I haven't anything new since last Friday, and then I had one speech for next Thursday. That's all I have got.

Q. We heard sometime ago that you were going to speak in Boston and Pittsburgh and Cleveland. I wondered if it was ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Yes -- things I have read sounded like the fellow in the Union Station up here. (laughter)

Q. (interjecting) That would be a tour, wouldn't it?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) (laughing) Pittsburgh and all points west. (more laughter) No, I haven't got anything.

Q. Mr. President, have you decided what job you have in mind for Mr. Nelson?

THE PRESIDENT: Not quite, yet.

Q. Anything new on Mayor La Guardia's proposed ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No.

Q. (continuing) --- trip?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) No, not quite, yet.

Q. He has got his uniforms all ready. (laughter)

Q. (aside) He says the shots he is taking are for an abscessed tooth.

THE PRESIDENT: Are you in the haberdashery business?

Q. No, but from the last time, when he thought he was going over a year ago.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I know -- I know. I hope they still fit. (more laughter)

MAY CRAIG: He can have mine.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MAY CRAIG: He can have mine.

THE PRESIDENT: This is off the record. Mrs. Craig says that he can have hers. (more laughter)

Q. I would like to see him. (continued laughter)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #972
Executive Office of the President
October 13, 1944 -- 11.07 a.m., e.w.t.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry to be a little later than usual, but I have been tied up with dispatches. I have got only one thing, which I think -- have you got copies of this, Steve?

MR. EARLY: Will be ready, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: A letter to Mr. (J. A.) Krug, (Chairman of the War Production Board) about farm machinery.

(reading, not literally): "I am sure that in your plans for the reconversion of industry to civilian production you will want to give strong recognition to the needs of many American farmers for increased supplies of farm machinery. I know that there has been a substantial increase in the production of most types of farm machinery during the past year which has made it possible for the War Food Administration to eliminate most of the rationing of farm machinery. It is necessary, however, that we further assist the farmer along these lines during the critical production period which yet lies ahead.

"During the war we have called on American agriculture to produce food in unprecedented quantities. To these calls the American farmers have responded with patriotic fervor.

"Agricultural production has reached new high levels through the hard work of our farm people. In achieving the production of more than one-third more food than in the

prewar period ---

That's a tremendous lot of food, more than a third more ---

"our farmers have had to overcome the handicap of shortages of labor and of farm machinery. Our farm working population has been diverted to war jobs in industry and to the armed forces to the extent of more than four million workers. Farm machinery has been scarce because of the fact that the materials and facilities which would otherwise have gone into the production of farm machinery have been needed for military trucks, tanks and planes, landing craft, guns and other urgent war purposes.

"Our unprecedented war production of food has, therefore, been accomplished by harder work and longer hours on the part of our farm people, by more intensive use of farm machinery, and by the seasonal use of many workers untrained in agriculture."

You all know that, out on the farms.

(continuing reading, not literally): "The nation will always be grateful to the American farmer for this achievement.

"In this period of high production and intensive use of agricultural machinery, many farmers have not been able to fill their normal replacement programs for their farm machinery. They now find themselves in the position of conducting their farming operations with farm machinery and equipment much of which is obsolete or depreciated beyond the point where it can be used with maximum efficiency."

A good deal of it can't be used at all. It's just plain worn out.

(continuing reading, not literally): "Wartime experience has demonstrated that a fully employed America will consume food in quantities substantially in excess of the prewar period. Our plans call for maintaining full employment at home. The consumption of food at home, and hence the production of food for consumption at home, must remain at high levels to satisfy the needs and demands of a fully employed America.

"In the immediate future we will be exporting ---

This is in addition to that ---

"substantial quantities of food, solely to aid directly in achieving military victory, some of it through the United States contribution to UNRRA so that the liberated peoples can soon help themselves, and much of it through commercial channels. With the restoration of foreign trade throughout the world, and the removal of many trade barriers, it is to be expected that this country will remain a substantial exporter of agricultural products.

"American agriculture must be prepared for these demands upon its productive capacity. To this end it should be given all possible assistance in modernizing and maintaining its farm machinery."

I had a talk with Krug on that, and we are making very substantial increases in the production of farm machinery, so that the problem is in hand. A year ago it was out of hand. We didn't have enough to go around. We weren't -- we weren't

making as much as we wanted to, on account of war production.

I think that's all I have got. Steve has got a copy of that.

Q. Mr. President, is there any prospect of a meeting between you and Premier Stalin and Mr. Churchill this year?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I have no idea. That is literally true.

Q. Are you being kept abreast of their current conference?

THE PRESIDENT: That's the thing that kept me late this morning.

Q. Is there anything you can tell us about the progress to date?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so.

Q. Mr. President, one of the problems that has been involved in this exporting of American food after the war at higher levels is how is it going to be paid for?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. How is the American food exported ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I will have to ask you a question: where?

Q. Very easily paid for ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) For instance, a little village in Italy, down below Rome -- and it has got knocked about a bit, and it has got fought over, and the people in that little village haven't got enough food for the winter -- are we going to deny them the food if they won't pay for it -- they

have no money?

Q. Well, I wasn't referring to the immediate postwar period but the long pull. After the war, exporting of American food will continue, as in your statement ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh Yes -- Oh Yes. It will depend on the place. This little village in Italy, I don't think next year they will raise enough food. I think it's too -- too broad a question. A lot of it can be sold. Some of it will undoubtedly have to come in under UNRRA, which is relief and rehabilitation. If we want them to starve in some places, deny them the food unless they can pay for it. But that is only if we want them to starve.

Q. Mr. President, when the Dumbarton Oaks conference ended -- pardon me -- (coughing) -- the officials who participated said that there were some questions which would have to be decided on a higher level.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) Has any decision been made yet as to how they will be decided?

THE PRESIDENT: No. It's a little bit like -- well, the example is France. We have been in France just a very few weeks. We haven't got any real careful study of the productive ability of rural France yet. Some sections like Normandy have got plenty of cows, and plenty of milk, and all sorts of livestock. We don't think that any food would have to be shipped in, but you can't drive in a jeep and give a complete answer to the question of how much food is needed in France.

MR. EARLY: I don't think you heard the question, Mr. President, clear there. Dumbarton Oaks.

THE PRESIDENT: What was that, Dumbarton Oaks ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- would be on a high level? Well, this will be on a high level, as soon as we get some information. Nobody has any information yet. We are in most of France, but nobody can tell me, nobody can tell anybody else on a higher level how much is needed in France. It will have to be surveyed.

Q. I am not talking about food, sir, I am talking about the question of the voting procedure in the new United Nations that was left unsettled at Dumbarton Oaks?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh well, we are going ahead with that as fast as we can.

Q. (interposing) Has it been decided whether ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) We have -- we have just given it out.

Q. Well, what I was asking, sir, is if it had been decided on a higher level?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I don't know. I would call it a detail.

Q. Mr. President, has it been decided or announced as to whether your October 21st foreign policy speech will be a political speech or a non-political speech?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let's turn this room into a debating society. You start off. What do you say, it's foreign

policy?

Q. Well, we'll put it on the basis, has it been asked for by the National Committee, to be paid for, or is it ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, I am not interested. I am not paying for it. Somebody else, maybe. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, have you now any plans for speeches beyond October 21?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know whether you would call them plans or not. Talking about it.

Q. (interjecting) How many do you have in mind, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) But -- well, when it is decided that I do speak somewhere, it will come out -- probably won't come out in a press conference -- probably come out, judging from the past, come out locally, or through the National Committee, or something like that.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I can't get frightfully interested in that sort of stuff now.

Q. Mr. President, has there been any decision yet on the place where the formal United Nations' conferencewill be held?

THE PRESIDENT: Don't even know when.

Q. That was my next question.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. (laughter)

Q. (aside) Two in one.

Q. Mr. President, can it be assumed that, in view of the Quebec conversations on -- Mr. Churchill is now dealing with Mr. Stalin as a spokesman both for the United States and the -- and for England?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. I think it would be very silly to assume that.

Q. I wondered if he carried with him any ideas that might have been evolved between yourself and Mr. Churchill that you authorized him to present to Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I think you are getting up into another (??) sphere.

Q. Mr. President, Senator Ball has posed three questions about the United Nations security organization. One of the questions is, should the vote of the United States representatives on the United Nations security council commit an agreed-upon quota of our military forces to action, ordered by the council to maintain peace, without requiring further Congressional approval? Is there anything you can say on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I would say it's a little bit ahead, asking that question.

Q. What was that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: A little bit ahead of time.

Q. Sir, could you say whether or not your own views on the -- that general question, regardless of how it was put by Senator Ball, correspond with the views of the American delegates at Dumbarton Oaks?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, to tell you the truth, I

haven't got a copy of it before me. I am not going to talk about it before I see exactly what it was. Do you have a copy?

Q. Not in my hand, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Let's not be talking about something we haven't got our hands on.

Q. Mr. President, since we saw you last, Mr. Petrillo has ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Mr. who?

Q. Mr. Petrillo -- or Petrillyo -- the musicians ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Oh Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- union has rejected your request to remove the ban on recordings. Do you contemplate any further action, or have you anything to say?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I am going into that, probably in the course of the next few days. It is largely a question of the law. People who write a story that I am acting as a dictator, at the next moment they say I should act on this musicians trouble, without seeing whether under the law I can act or not. It is worth looking into. It is worth a day's study to see as to what I can do under the law. It is a very interesting question.

Q. What law would you act under?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. What law would you act under?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose there are about forty of them. That is why it will take you a whole day to look it up. Not easy. I would like to do something about it, but it's

a great question as to whether I can legally.

Q. Mr. President, two weeks ago you said you expected to have something on Mayor LaGuardia over the week end. I was wondering if there was anything doing on that?

THE PRESIDENT: You will have to wait a few days more.

Q. Few days more.

Q. Mr. President, there have been frequent suggestions that it might be advisable to have a meeting of foreign ministers of the American republics for consultation. Do you think that would be advisable, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What? Who suggested that? Who suggested that?

Q. The suggestion has been made in Latin America, and also most recently by Sumner Welles.

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't read the suggestion. Didn't know anything about it. Why the foreign ministers instead of the Ambassadors?

Q. I didn't hear you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Why the foreign ministers instead of the Ambassadors?

Q. Well, I think the suggestion is based on the assumption that it was -- grew out of the Rio conference that there should be more consultative meetings like the one at Rio, before the relations that were broken at Rio, or rather pledged to be broken at Rio with the Axis, were resumed again. Those relations are now being resumed, as in the case of Italy.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, on the war thing. I thought you were talking about the Argentine thing. I honestly don't know. I suppose when the -- the leaders of governments decide that one is necessary, that they will come to an agreement and have a meeting. It can't be done by individuals, you can't call a meeting through individual suggestions, or some newspaper owner, or something like that. When the -- when the governments decide, the governments will decide, and it's their prerogative to decide.

Q. Did you say government or governments?

THE PRESIDENT: Governments -- all of them.

Q. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. For all I know, they may be talking about it now. You don't know. Neither do I.

Q. Mr. President, there has been a lot of talk that Leon Henderson might go to the European theatre of operations soon as your representative, as an economic adviser to Eisenhower. Is there any truth in that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I have heard of a great many suggestions.

Q. Have you heard that suggestion?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh Yes.

Q. What do you think of it?

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) I think I read it in the paper somewhere.

Q. Mr. President, have you made your election prediction and sealed it up yet?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't, No.

Q. You have not?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not yet. I have been too busy. I think I will probably do it within a week. I know pretty well -- (here hesitating a fraction of a second, giving the impression of a completed sentence) -- what I --- (much laughter interrupting) -- and I have never been right yet. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, do you have any plans for recognizing the French government?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know what the situation is. That question doesn't put it -- what do you mean by recognizing the French government?

Q. Giving it diplomatic recognition.

THE PRESIDENT: We have recognized the de facto government in France.

Q. Sir, is that a step beyond your statement on the -- at the end of the De Gaulle conversations, that you referred to as de facto authority?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, de facto authority --I am not splitting hairs -- you can call it either way -- authority or government.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) That, I -- I -- I call really legalistic. That's a polite word.

Q. The assignment, Mr. President -- the assignment of Mr. (Jefferson) Caffery I think was phrased as being

accredited to the de facto authority in Paris. Have you any comment, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: That's all right. That's what it is. Again ---

FRED PASLEY: (interposing) Mr. President, could Merriman Smith say Thank You?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MERRIMAN SMITH: (interposing) Thank you, Mr. President. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Merriman wasn't quick enough on the trigger that time.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #973
Held in the Fish Room, Executive Offices of the President
October 17, 1944 -- 4.20 p.m., e.w.t.

(the President was seated in front of a relief map of the coast of France, labeled Mulberry B, Port Arromanches. Grey-painted models to scale of special naval craft and equipment for an artificial harbor were on display in the room)

(Colonel Richard Park, Assistant to the Military Aide to the President; and Commander J. A. Tyree, Jr., Assistant Naval Aide to the President, were on hand to advise)

Q. Going to get a lesson today?

THE PRESIDENT: (pointer in hand) Yes. I think we can get all in.

Q. I think we will.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. (then to Charlie Fredericks, his personal bodyguard): Pull me back a little. Now they can all see there. (the map) All right.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I thought you would be interested in seeing -- for the first time, the press or the public -- the way we succeeded, with the British and the Canadians, on

D-Day June 6.

You will see models here, some of them are around you, that were sent over to me by Mr. Churchill, and it -- it shows something new in -- in human warfare in the landing of a very vast army on a strange coast, the coast of Normandy. This contains practically the secret of how we got ashore. There were no harbors from Le Havre around to Cherbourg -- open beaches. The Germans had been there for five years -- nearly five years -- over four years.

And in spite of the fact of these open beaches, we landed -- how many men did we land there, about 250 thousand men, roughly?

COLONEL PARK: Yes, sir -- about.

THE PRESIDENT: And on the secret of our landing, there were two problems. Of course, the first thing was to get ashore and get control of the beaches for a few hundred yards back; and the second thing was to get the reinforcements and the heavier supplies in to that army so as to build it up. It is not a nice coast, it is a rough coast.

And so the British and ourselves worked out this plan for building Mulberries. We built two Mulberries, one in the American sector and the other in the English sector. We built artificial harbors, and these are the artificial harbors -- (indicating). And all of the main component parts are new. They are all new inventions. Nothing like these component parts were ever done before. They are very complicated because of the size of the problem, and the problem of landing not

merely human beings but also all the paraphernalia that goes with an army, tanks and guns, supplies of all kinds, large and small.

Roughly speaking, we had to protect what was to become a harbor, going over, let us say, on this end -- (indicating). Those are sunken merchant ships that were taken in simultaneously, you might say, with the first wave of infantry that went ashore in the transports, plus a new type system over in there -- (indicating to the right) -- what? -- a breakwater would you call it?

COLONEL PARK: Yes, sir -- substantially that.

THE PRESIDENT: A thing that stands on the sand, way down under the water, and yet which can be used for unloading, but chiefly for protection against the sea. Remember, this is the western end of the English Channel and apt to be a bit rough. That enabled us, after the sunken ships were put into place -- and that is another breakwater out here -- (indicating) -- and again in there -- (indicating) -- for ships to come in and unload. It gave us in effect a protective space inside, between there and the beach, in which the sea was so quiet, and has been from then on, that we have been able to land the heaviest supplies in there. The breakwater and all the equipment is still there and being used even to this day, although, of course, we have Cherbourg and other ports at this time.

Then came the question of speeding up the unloading, and we built these down in here -- (indicating) -- which are

---

COLONEL PARK: (interjecting) Over in the corner there.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, over in the corner there -- an entirely new design. Remember that LSI -- the landing LCI, the Landing Craft Infantry, that is something new too, but these were for not just human beings but for tanks and everything else, and -- such as the one with the tanks -- this is one here -- (indicating).

COLONEL PARK: Yes, sir, that is the one right over there.

THE PRESIDENT: And in here is a floating ---

COLONEL PARK: (interjecting) Causeway.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

COLONEL PARK: Causeway.

THE PRESIDENT: Causeway -- that's the word I wanted -- out in deep water, clear in to the beach itself. The result was that we got up to a speed in the artificial harbor of unloading how many thousand tons a day?

COLONEL PARK: About 20 thousand, thereabouts.

THE PRESIDENT: About 20 thousand tons a day, inside of each of these two Mulberries. That's a tremendous lot of tonnage, even for a very large port in any harbor in peacetime. To complete the whole operation, all of this took us about how many days?

COLONEL PARK: About 28 ---

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN: (interjecting) 25. Most of it was caused ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Yes, about a month. But, of course, it was working and we were actually unloading things, with a good many facilities in place, within two or three days; and from that time on the tonnage increased to such an extent that even after we got Cherbourg and cleaned it up and made it a main landing place, these two beaches can unload just as much tonnage in a day, even now, than Cherbourg can, after it has been all built up. In fact, I think a little more.

COLONEL PARK: That is correct.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

There isn't very much more to say. This coast -- (indicating) -- is a beach of varying widths, some of it rocky. You come up to the top of the beach and you find anything that runs from practically beach-level country up to cliffs. Some of these cliffs are like the cliffs of Dover, a tremendous height. Of course, they had to be captured by the first few waves. One difficulty in the whole landing operation was at a point that was half-way between the English beach to the eastward and the American beach westward -- that's right? ---

COLONEL PARK: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and that was a place where the cliffs were pretty high, and it took us four or five days, I think, before the Germans were eliminated from that sector, which infiltrated a portion of this beach, or that beach -- (indicating).

Now, I don't know that there is anything very much

more to be said here. You might look back and read up in the newspaper accounts of what happened between June 6 -- June 6, say, and June 12. You get a pretty good idea of what the fighting was, but this is the first time that anybody has ever seen how they got ashore. And, of course, it isn't just a question of landing men. You have got to land the tanks, and the trucks, and the artillery that go with fighting on land.

Of course, it got air protection all the time, day and night. That worked very well.

Outside of that, I don't know that there is very much to say about this, because it speaks for itself. The -- some of you will be interested in these various -- various models, because there are all kinds of gadgets in them.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) We were responsible for the designing of some of them, and the British were responsible for the design of some of them, and joint planning was responsible for the design of other things.

It was a joint operation, carried through in the space of less than a year, a thing which was planned -- not quite decided on -- not quite a year before the actual operation. In fact, I think you might say it was a general proposition, with the detailing and the planning in of the broad scheme planned as far back as Quebec, in August 1943. About that, right?

COLONEL PARK: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Now, Colonel Park here said if you

want to ask him any questions -- he knows more about the thing than I do. These models will not be left here. I take it that there are very few experts among the correspondents. I am not going to leave them out to public view, because there are various little details in the models that we were particularly asked not to photograph, because they are -- there are details in the models that shouldn't be passed on to any enemy country.

Q. What's the scale of miles there, Mr. President?

COLONEL PARK: About two miles.

THE PRESIDENT: Two miles, ---

Q. (interposing) Sir, does that main causeway ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- two miles from this breakwater ---

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN: (interjecting) 33 hundred feet. The rise and fall of the tides, of course, adds greatly to the problem.

THE PRESIDENT: This is not very far from San Malo. Over there you find one of the highest tides that there is in the world, that is down around the Cherbourg peninsula.

Q. What's the tide show there, Mr. President?

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN: 20 feet.

THE PRESIDENT: 20 feet, about. Like the Bay of Fundy.

Q. Where did you get the name Mulberry?

THE PRESIDENT: That's what we call a code word.

Q. That's the code word?

Q. Mulberry means the whole installation?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Would you name the towns on the left and on the right of the beach-head? I see towns there.

THE PRESIDENT: Arromanches. Tracy-Sur-Mer. That's what? -- Cabane. I don't know what that is down there.

Q. Was it referred to as Mulberry every time it was mentioned?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Was it referred to only as Mulberry?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That might be anything, except to the people who knew. (laughter)

Q. Yes.

Q. But the port, after it was established, was called Omaha, wasn't it?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Each port had a different name. I have forgotten what the British one was. (Arromanches)

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN: Those were the beaches, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes?

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN: (continuing) Those were the beaches, you remember.

THE PRESIDENT: The beaches.

Q. Why was it, Mr. President, that that four-day gale that came up destroyed the American Mulberry but not the British -- injured it more than the British?

THE PRESIDENT: We are a little further out to sea, and the wind from that direction comes in and hits the

American port with more force than it does the British port.

COLONEL PARK: Current a great deal stronger.

THE PRESIDENT: The current had a great deal to do with it. But it got to working.

Q. That artificial breakwater must be about a mile off this main -- right up on the coast, isn't it?

COLONEL PARK: That's right.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, are those floating docks called sometimes causeways?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

COLONEL PARK: Those are called pierheads.

THE PRESIDENT: Pierheads.

COLONEL PARK: They actually float, but they are pinned down.

THE PRESIDENT: The ship comes up on one side and unloads vehicles, and under their own power they come across this causeway all the way in. You will see this causeway here -- (indicating).

Q. How broad were the causeways?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. How broad were the causeways?

THE PRESIDENT: Just enough for one truck here.

Q. Is this it here?

COLONEL PARK: The causeway is right over here.

(Commander Tyree held up a picture of the causeway)

THE PRESIDENT: Is that an actual picture?

COMMANDER TYREE: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Pass that around. As the Colonel said, these piers are floating, but they have to be pinned down to the bottom, hence you will see these long sort of feet for going down below the pier.

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN: These devices right there, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, these. There are the piers, and then all kinds of machinery to keep things floating, but are tied in with it as it floats up and down on the tide.

Q. Can you tell us how many ships were sunk to make the causeways?

THE PRESIDENT: How many ships were sunk?

COLONEL PARK: 20 on each one of them.

THE PRESIDENT: About 20 on each one of them.

Q. That is to make the breakwater?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

COLONEL PARK: That is correct.

THE PRESIDENT: 20 of those, Yes.

Q. For how long was the American Mulberry out of commission?

COLONEL PARK: About six weeks now.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

COLONEL PARK: About six weeks for ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) About six weeks. And during the actual -- during the actual operation of setting it

up, I don't suppose out of complete operation any one of them.

Q. Well, there is a breakwater for each Mulberry?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes. That one, and that one -- (indicating).

Q. Mr. President, is it being used now still?

COLONEL PARK: This one is being used complete. Ours has been destroyed.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. What type of ships were those sunk, Mr. President, to create that?

THE PRESIDENT: Mostly Liberty type that had outlived their usefulness -- busted up -- something like that.

Q. Were they towed in there, right on D-Day, carrying a load?

THE PRESIDENT: They were towed in there full of mostly stones and gravel, and stuff like that.

Q. They weren't carrying supplies?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. They were towed in and sunk. And the amazing thing was the percentage of them that sank in the right place. That's the thing we were very much worried about, whether they would sink in the right place, because they were so loaded that all you had to do was let in a little water and down they would go.

Q. They were sunk on D-Day?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. How deep is the water at that point?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose out here ---

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN: (interjecting) 23 feet.

COLONEL PARK: About 34 feet, and gradually comes in to about 18 feet of water there. It graduates up to about 6 -- 18 to 6.

COMMANDER TYREE: There's the legend on that side.

THE PRESIDENT: About 36 feet on this side.

Q. Mr. President, could I ask Colonel Park a question?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. I was under the impression that those big caissons in themselves are called Mulberries, and that there is a smaller boat that was sunk called a gooseberry. (laughter)

COLONEL PARK: No. Your gooseberry is -- is this arrangement up here -- (indicating) -- which provided for a harbor. The entire installation is known as a gooseberry. This is called a phoenix. It makes up a part of the gooseberry -- entire Mulberry.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes, yes.

COLONEL PARK: (continuing) This line of phoenixes and gooseberries, and your whales, and all the rest of them are all Mulberries.

Q. Can you give us the terminology ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) But for the benefit of the ladies, we didn't sink any whales. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, could we depart a moment? Is there anything you can tell us now about Mayor LaGuardia? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. He wasn't there. (more laughter)

Q. (aside) The man who wasn't there.

Q. Is he still going to undertake that separate landing in Italy? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, just what I said at the last conference: if he does, I will tell you about it.

Q. Mr. President, Senator Mead made a speech in Buffalo last Saturday, and there is one sentence in it that I was wondering if you could comment on? He said as soon as conditions warranted acquisition, we will also have the help of Russia as well as the help of Great Britain in the Pacific.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes, ---

Q. (continuing) Does he know something we don't know?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- yes.

Q. (continuing) Is there anything the Administration could say ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Well, first, I am not commenting on a part of what somebody said. I have learned better. (laughter)

Q. I would be glad to (provide) full text on this.

Q. Mr. President, any speaking plans beyond the Philadelphia speech that you could tellus about?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I don't think so.

Q. There is a report, Mr. President, that -- that you have accepted or are being persuaded to accept a date

in Chicago late in the month?

THE PRESIDENT: I heard that too. (laughter)

Q. What about it? Anything to it?

THE PRESIDENT: I -- I -- I can't tell you now. These things will develop. After all, it isn't very much further to go -- only three weeks, so you may find out some things by then.

I saw somebody wrote a story about a great transcontinental tour or a swing around the circle, or something like that. Well, I don't think we have anything like that. There will be some speeches -- just where and just when, I don't know. I am going to Philadelphia.

Q. But nothing definite to be said about ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No.

Q. (continuing) --- Chicago yet?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your conference today with former Governor (Charles) Edison?

THE PRESIDENT: Had a good time with him. Talked about a lot of things.

Q. (interposing) After he ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Very nice.

Q. (continuing) After he left, he said, Mr. President, that he had told you that New Jersey would go for Dewey by a substantial margin. Do you have any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: He didn't say substantial margin. He said he thought it would go for Dewey.

Q. Mr. President, you read the ominous reports about your health, printed by some of the more rugged correspondents? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) More what correspondents? Look -- don't -- don't get me commenting on the word rugged, because I might say things that I would be sorry for. On some of them, I know more about their health than they know about mine. I think it's pretty good health.

Q. Mr. President, are you going to New York for that speech on Saturday?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Why, I am not flying -- I am going on a train.

Q. Mr. President, sir, I would like to ask a question about this world security organization, on which Mr. Stettinius had a meeting in the State Department with a large group of representatives of the various American organizations interested in world peace.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) One of the questions that was brought up there, and which apparently was not completely answered, was this question of the authority that the American delegate to the security council should have, and whether or not he should have to refer back to the Congress in the case of each crisis, or each instance. Do you feel, sir, that the time has come when you care to say what authority you think the American delegate should have?

THE PRESIDENT: Gosh! I wish I had cut out a story

in one of the papers this morning, to the effect that people are now beginning -- who are not friendly to the idea of a United Nations organization -- are beginning to inquire what each delegate would do, what time they would arrive, where they would breakfast and on what, and the rest -- the course of their day of each one of them.

Well, I don't know. I don't think that this country ought to get into a position -- or any country, for that matter -- of asking the kind of detailed question about what each member of the Congress or the Senate is going to do, and how they are going to live, and where they are going to live. That is another question.

I see somebody in Washington is trying to get the seat of the United Nations placed in Washington. Well, I hope not. I don't think the matter has been discussed, except in perhaps this one newspaper in Washington. I hope it won't come here. I think it's a terrible place to have -- to make it the all-the-year-round seat of the United Nations.

I can say this, that I have felt all along that one of the strong points of the Pan American organization -- call it that -- is that it doesn't meet always in one place. We have had the Pan American conference meet first in -- in Montevideo, and then I think it was in Lima, and then it was in Buenos Aires, and then it was in Habana, and then it was in the -- last time -- in Rio de Janeiro.

Well, I think that's an awfully good thing, instead of tieing it down to a -- a central meeting point. If the

thing works, it is going to improve the knowledge of the delegates of the -- of the world -- all other countries, if it meets in different places all over the world. Why not?

Q. Mr. President, under the Dumbarton plan, this setup would have a permanent, formal secretariat. Wouldn't that have to be located in some one place?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what you want on that is to get an office building -- have an office building -- I don't care where, particularly -- and make that the place where they keep all their records, and have a lot of papers of all kinds, and maps, and so forth and so on. Then, when you decide where the assembly is going to meet the next time, then come with the necessary documents to the assembly. That is very simple. That is a matter of pure detail. But it is a very good illustration of what I meant, of trying to stir up dissension on relatively unimportant matters.

What, after all, compared with the -- the great objective of an organization which will do its best to keep peace in the world, what are details as to the office building, or the place that the assembly happens to meet, what has that got to do with the -- with the big objective?

And yet there are an awful lot of people in this country that are deliberately trying to sow dissension among the nations of the world on minor details of that kind. Will the delegates wear silk hats -- that sort of question. And there will be a lot of people on newspapers -- some newspapers -- who will wonder whether the ladies will wear low-neck

dresses, and the men will wear dress suits.

Well, I get terribly fed up with it, and the people of this country are going to get fed up with it when I start talking along that line.

We are after a very great objective in this whole thing. We don't know if it is going to work. It doesn't guarantee peace forever, but we hope at least it will guarantee world peace while any of us today are still alive. That will be something.

Q. Do you start talking along that line in this Saturday night speech, Mr. President? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I haven't even written it. That's a good idea. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President -- Mr. President, I wonder if you would care to tell us what phases of the -- of the plan you think should be discussed publicly?

THE PRESIDENT: Everything that you have. The whole plan. It's all right. I am talking about emphasis. It is public now. It is meant to be talked about. The great objective was to tell the world all about it frankly, so that people will have all kinds of opinions. Some people will want to talk about silk hats and low-neck dresses. But I trust that it will be -- that it won't be loud talk.

Q. Sir, the reason I brought up that particular point was because the representatives who met with Mr. Stettinius seemed to think that the question of this authority of the American delegate was not at all a minor question, but

was the crux of the whole matter, to determine whether or not America could guarantee its participation with force or would have to refer the matter back each time, for perhaps protracted and endless debates in the United States Senate; and as I say, they seemed to think that that was an important matter and not a question in the same category with the others, you see what I mean?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let's have a discussion on the whole thing first. Don't let us be didactic on one thing until we get a discussion on the whole thing.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: All right. Enjoy the "toys" to your utmost, but don't move them.

(laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #974
Executive Office of the President
October 20, 1944 -- 11.15 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I have -- Oh Yes -- where is it? -- during the night General Marshall got a message from General MacArthur. Have you got this mimeographed, Steve?

MR. EARLY: No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: All right. It isn't very long. There were extremely light losses -- these operations in Leyte -- and all landings were made on schedule. The enemy was caught strategically unaware, and there was splendid progress of operation in every respect. The enemy anticipated an attack to the south. His Mindanao forces -- that is the island south there, the big island -- are no longer an immediate factor, and are practically cut off.

We expected it a little bit earlier, but what the reason was we haven't yet checked up on. We had got an alert that it was coming in around nine o'clock, and it didn't come in until -- what?

MR. EARLY: About one, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: One something, and that may have been due to Japanese blocking -- attempt to block the air -- the communications waves, so that is why the papers didn't get it to the regular editions, and only got it for their last editions in the East.

I don't think I need to say anything more about

our general satisfaction, all over the country, about our return to the Philippines. It has been a long time, and we are particularly happy that General MacArthur, not only his dream but his statement when he left Bataan have come true. He has returned, and the American Army and Navy have returned.

I think that's all I have got.

Q. Mr. President, was this plan for the invasion of the Philippines drawn at the time you were in Pearl Harbor?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Yes and No. I mean, that's beside the question, you can't say Yes or No to that. It had been discussed. Several plans had been discussed long before I got to Pearl Harbor, and when I got to Pearl Harbor I went over this whole plan with General MacArthur, and we all did a good deal of studying on it. And very soon after I got back here it was agreed on officially, and ordered, and the actual preparations for it were carried out.

Q. Mr. President, any further information on speaking dates?

THE PRESIDENT: On who?

Q. On speaking dates -- campaign speaking dates?

THE PRESIDENT: Except it looks like rain tomorrow. (laughter)

Q. It does. How about ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Rain, and a fifty-mile gale in New York, which is not cheerful.

Q. Are you going to wear your navy cape?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose so. (laughter) About

the best garment I have got. I have been wearing that -- this is about the third I have had since 1913.

Q. No information on a date in Chicago yet?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. Or anywhere else. In other words, you are assuming that I am going to Chicago. I don't think it has been announced, has it?

MR. EARLY: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, has it? Steve says it has. Well, I am not saying anything about it.

MR. EARLY: That's right. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: It depends a little on how you treat me from now on. (more laughter) (laughing) I don't know what the policy of your paper is going to be. (more laughter)

Q. (aside) Neither does Paul.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) It depends largely on you.

Q. How about Mayor Kelly, has he been to see you?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. Is Mayor Kelly coming in today, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Of Chicago? No. No. I am not seeing anybody today. I am trying to write a speech.

MR. EARLY: (to the President) Oh, on the speech, your time has been extended fifteen minutes now.

THE PRESIDENT: All right.

MR. EARLY: Tell them.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Tell them.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know why I should tell them that, they are not interested. (laughter) Steve is trying to pull a fast one on the time of my speech. He wanted me to tell you it has been extended for fifteen minutes. I don't see what that has to do with the "price of eggs."

MR. EARLY: Forty-five minutes.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Forty-five minutes.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That doesn't mean I am going to speak forty-five minutes. (laughter)

MR. EARLY: That's volume.

THE PRESIDENT: Just so I won't get cut off. (loud laughter) Like Orson Welles got cut off the other night. I was in the middle of listening to him, and they shut down on him.

Q. Did you hear Governor Dewey the other night?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. What did you think of his delivery? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I don't think anybody is interested in what I thought of it. (more laughter)

Q. We are, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: No, you're not. You're not society.

Q. What did you think of the contents?

THE PRESIDENT: The who?

Q. The contents of the speech?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think anybody is very much interested. (more laughter)

Q. At the end of that sentence, Mr. President, you don't think anybody is very much interested in the contents of it, or what you think about the contents?

THE PRESIDENT: All you can say is I am not very much interested in the contents. That will make it easier. I am not controversial. (continued laughter, and some exclamations) Even Pete (Brandt) over there can't make me controversial this morning. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, Representative (Melvin J.) Maas (Republican of Minnesota) said that the Administration is withholding the special Navy board report on Pearl Harbor. Is there anything you might say about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know anything about it ---

Q. (interjecting) Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- one way or the other.

Q. Mr. President, General Eisenhower has indicated his intention of designating certain areas in France as being interior zones, as distinct from military zones, and giving control of civilian affairs in those zones to the De Gaulle authority.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) I think ---

Q. (continuing) Does that open the way for further recognition ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- I think that is still under study by General Eisenhower. You would have to find out from over there.

Q. Does that change the diplomatic status of De Gaulle, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: That's an "iffy" question.

Q. (interjecting) What kind of question?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I'm tough -- (laughter) -- it's an "iffy" question -- I say I'm tough this morning. (more laughter)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope you don't get wet, those who are going.

(Notebook PC-20 -- Page 122 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #975
Executive Office of the President
October 24, 1944 -- 4.15 p.m., e.w.t.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I have got anything today, except an admission that just a few of you -- very small percentage -- are going to be disappointed in the answer -- I will put it that way -- the answer to the question is Yes, I haven't even got the sniffles! (laughter)

Outside of that, I don't think I have any news.

Q. Mr. President, you saw Ambassador (W. Averell) Harriman today.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. I presume he brought back a report from Moscow on the Churchill-Stalin conferences?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. We got about a quarter of the way through.

Q. Could you tell us anything for the record as to what American interests might be involved in such conversations, or anything else he may have reported?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think there is any news except the conference went very well.

Q. (interposing) One ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Before going back to London.

Q. There was one report that Mr. Stalin had indicated his willingness to have Russia enter into a three-way

commission, whereby Russia, the United States and Great Britain jointly would have political connections in southeastern Europe and the Balkans. Have you heard any talk of such commissions?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. We talked about the Balkans. He didn't say anything about that. I guess he would have had, if there had been anything in it.

Q. Did you get into the Polish situation, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No, didn't talk about it at all.

Q. You said he got one-fourth the way through. You expect to see him again to get the other three-fourths?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Several times more, before he goes back.

Q. Mr. President, any more speech dates or plans you can give us?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know what's been given out. I would be afraid to cross wires. (laughter)

Q. Well, we are through Chicago.

THE PRESIDENT: Steve, how far have I got, so far?

MR. EARLY: Only to Chicago. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: To Chicago. And that date not set.

MR. EARLY: That's right.

Q. Not announced.

MR. EARLY: By us.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

Q. It has been set in Chicago for the 28th, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Has it really?

Q. Will you confirm that?

THE PRESIDENT: What's the date -- I mean the day of the week?

VOICES: Saturday.

THE PRESIDENT: Saturday. I would have to say "D.V." on anything I said.

Q. What's that, Mr. President?

Q. What's that?

THE PRESIDENT: Deo Volente -- God Willing. (laughter) You'll learn sometimes. It's all right. Good.

Q. So now the 28th is on the record, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I answered in an "if" way.

Q. Is there any connection between your visit to Philadelphia and Navy Day, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. They are both the 27th of October! (laughter)

Q. And the fact that it is Navy Day, may we conclude that you may look over some of the Navy in Philadelphia?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh Yes, that's always possible. In fact, almost a good step ---

Q. (interposing) Do you have any plans ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

Q. Do you have any plans to include France in the postwar security talks?

THE PRESIDENT: Do what?

Q. Do you have any plans to bring France into the postwar security talks?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything new on the Petrillo situation?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Petrillo.

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. I thought you were mentioning some foreign country. (much laughter) I didn't know what -----. No. I haven't heard a word.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, going back to this trip, can you tell us whether you plan to stop in Buffalo?

THE PRESIDENT: I will tell you something, off the record. If I were writing for a Buffalo paper, I wouldn't say so. (laughter)

Q. You wouldn't, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No. (more laughter)

Q. Does that mean, sir, that you are not going to stop there?

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) My plans aren't -- haven't gone further -- haven't been completed, except that Steve got me as far as Chicago, and that's all.

MR. EARLY: It was announced locally there.

THE PRESIDENT: What was it?

Q. (interposing) Well, he isn't going to leave you there, is he, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What? (much laughter)

Q. Mr. President, have you decided what you will talk about at Chicago?

THE PRESIDENT: I never know until just beforehand. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on Senator (Joseph H.) Ball's (Republican of Minnesota) statement?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so.

Q. Mr. President, may we assume now that you are campaigning in the usual partisan ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Wait a minute. (laughter)

Q. (continuing) --- political sense?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Now I got the chance. (more laughter) Now you gave me a thought.

Q. (interjecting) Good.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) You know, the amazing thing is the number of papers in this country that think -- and they are reputable -- that have fallen into the strange habit of quoting half of a sentence. Period. It's an amazing thing. What was the statement that I made, way back -- way back? It was in the reputable papers. And I caught them all. I got a list of them. They are quoting a half of a sentence. You know, that's an awful habit to fall into. I don't know where they got it from. (laughter, especially from Isadore Lubin) What are you laughing at, Lube? What was it? What was the sentence thatwas complete? Why not quote it all?

Q. It was two sentences, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: I think it was all one sentence, with a comma between. I think that little comma may have confused some people. I think it said: I shall not campaign in the usual sense of the world -- word, except -----. Now I think that's the same sentence.

Q. That's a different statement, though. Two different statements.

THE PRESIDENT: Except that. Oh, same sentence then. I will give it to you the other way: I think in all probability I will ask you into this office after press conference and shoot you, except that -----. Well now, is that the same thing? (laughter) Eh? (more laughter)

Q. Except what?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. I said except what?

THE PRESIDENT: Except that I will probably go to the chair for it.

Q. Oh. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: On that, if I were you, I would feel fairly safe.

Q. Not too safe.

THE PRESIDENT: Not too safe. (continued laughter) The other is all one sentence: I do not expect to campaign in the usual, normal sense of the word, except to answer things that are misrepresentations -- whatever's in the text -- not the exact words. The two go together. It's all one -- one thought.

Q. The -- the end was what, Mr. President? How did it go?

THE PRESIDENT: Except to respond to or answer -- I'm not using the exact words, you will have to look it up, unfortunately -- except for misrepresentations or gross mis-statements of fact -- something along that line.

Q. You said it's all in the record unfortunately. Unfortunately for whom?

THE PRESIDENT: For the people who have forgotten to quote the full sentence.

Q. Some people might misconstrue what you meant.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

Q. Mr. President, could we have a statement on the record on that?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Might we have a statement on that?

Q. (interposing) That's on the record. It's all on the record.

THE PRESIDENT: That's all on the record. In fact, I think it was made in a speech ---

Q. (interjecting) I mean this?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- wasn't it in the speech of acceptance from San Diego?

MR. EARLY: Certainly.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that's right. I haven't got that part of the paper (speech) before me. You can get it easily enough.

MR. EARLY: (to Mr. Tom Blake) Get it, Tom.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir.

(Notebook PC-20 -- Page 132 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #976
Executive Office of the President
October 25, 1944 -- 5.17 p.m., e.w.t.

MR. EARLY: Here they are, sir. (the newspapermen, about seven)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what are they doing around? (laughter)

Q. We were just asking that ourselves.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Hello, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, this is good. I love to see them working. Just look! It always breaks my heart. (more laughter)

Q. Like the old days at Hyde Park in the study.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Some of you are putting on a little waistline.

FRED PASLEY: We are all sober today, too. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. (to Fred Pasley) Speak for yourself.

THE PRESIDENT: Chocolate soda?

FRED PASLEY: Soda? Sober. (more laughter)

Q. At this time of day, Mr. President, please take it a little slow.

THE PRESIDENT: I thought you might have this as a flash. It really is a flash, because this is all there is

to it. It just came over from the Navy from Admiral Leahy.

(reading): "The President received today a report from Admiral Halsey that the Japanese navy ---

Q. (interjecting) Just a moment.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- in the Philippine area has been defeated, seriously damaged, and routed -- (joyful "ahs") -- by the American Navy in that area."

MR. EARLY: Make that United States.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Make that United States Navy.

THE PRESIDENT: Right. United States Navy.

Q. U. S. Navy?

MR. EARLY: United States Navy in that area.

THE PRESIDENT: So that makes it look all right.

MR. EARLY: There's your flash!

Q. This came from Nimitz, sir?

VOICES: (interposing) (on the way out, and hurriedly) Halsey -- Halsey.

Q. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Mr. Early) You can have the original.

(the President made a notation on it "OK--F.D.R." and gave it to Mr. Early)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #977
Executive Office of the President
October 31, 1944 -- 4.17 P.M., E.W.T.

VOICE: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I have any news today. Just been out -- you will find it out, anyway -- I have just at this moment come back from the Naval Hospital -- put it all down -- (laughter) -- certain ones of you. I wasn't examined medically. I didn't go out for that purpose. I went to see the Secretary of State, and the Secretary, I thought, was getting along awfully well. Very much pleased with his appearance. And we talked about various things -- foreign affairs and politics, I think that was all -- (laughter) -- for about an hour. I have just come back.

Outside of that, I don't think there's anything.

Q. Can you tell us, sir, how soon he may be out of the hospital?

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't ask the doctor -- (laughter) -- and unlike some people, who are not doctors, I dislike to give medical information. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, speaking ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh, that's a dirty crack, isn't it? (much laughter)

Q. (continuing) Mr. President, speaking of politics, would you comment on the statement by Representative Kefauver, Director of the Thousand-Dollar Club, that you suggested the Club, that the members had the promise when they were in

town that they could drop in on you, and there have been five such meetings, or occasions?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. I wouldn't comment on it. I will tell you the facts, which are very simple.

Oh, way back, sometime in the summer, I said, "Why don't you start a hundred-thousand-dollar club?" And they all laughed. I was going to start -- I said, "What are you laughing at?"

They said, "Do you suppose anybody would give a hundred thousand dollars to the Democratic National Committee?"

I said, "All right, start a ten-thousand-dollar club."

They said, "Nobody would give to it."

I said, "Start a thousand-dollar club."

"Oh," they said, "we might get a few members for that."

And I never thought of it again until a gentleman from Chicago came in the other day and handed me a certificate, which probably cost a half a cent, that I had joined the thousand-dollar club.

I said, "My God, what's that for?"

"Well," he said, "you sent a thousand dollars of your regular contribution to the Democratic National Committee."

I said, "So I did." I didn't even know that I was eligible.

And that's all the story that there is. So I am a member of it.

Q. What does that certificate entitle you to, Mr. President? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: What? Don't know. I haven't thought. I am going to ask.

Q. I have the answer, Mr. President. Mr. Kefauver says it will let you go any place you want in town. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a good idea.

Q. And also to see the President. I suppose that's in the mirror.

THE PRESIDENT: I would have to get an appointment through "Pa" though. (more laughter) If I want to see the President, I would have to get an appointment.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us in the way of background, or just general shedding of light, on why it was necessary to call General (Joseph W.) Stilwell home?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think you have got the story, and I don't see why -- well, in the first place, I don't think that anybody in the room can make any politics out of this ---

Q. (interposing) Can't hear you, sir.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, we can't hear you.

THE PRESIDENT: (louder) I was afraid that nobody in the room could make any politics out of it. It's a very simple fact, which I think it has been -- the Army gave it out.

General Stilwell has done extremely well. I am very fond of him personally. I think that his record has been excellent. But, just one of "them" things that will probably -- some of you who hate -- some of you who don't like -- some of you, you have got personal likes and dislikes, I guess because I think you are extremely human. And in this particular case, General Stilwell had the -- really three commands. One was the Burma command -- I am talking about areas -- one was with Admiral Mountbatten, and one was chief of staff to General Chiang Kai-shek.

And General Chiang Kai-shek and the General had had certain fallings out -- oh, quite a while ago -- and it finally ended the other day.

The Generalissimo asked if we could send somebody to replace General Stilwell with him as his chief of staff. And we did it. You have to remember that General Chiang Kai-shek is the head of the Chinese Republic of 450 million people -- head of the state. He is also the head of the government, and he is commander-in-chief of the army.

Well, I think we had a Britisher -- take another example -- over here, whom I happened to have taken a dislike to. I would have let Mr. Churchill know. There wasn't any question about it. Of course he would have been recalled, and they would have sent somebody else.

The Generalissimo is the head of the Chinese Republic. He is commander-in-chief. Of course, it's perfectly obvious. And with the full approval of General Marshall, we have asked

him to come home to take an assignment that is equally important to that, commensurate with his rank. I think that's the word to use.

And we are sending another American, with the full approval of the Chief of Staff of our Army, and me, to replace the chief of staff in China. That's all.

Now, how you could get politics -- I know how difficult it is, you have got to go to next Tuesday writing political stories -- but honestly there isn't any politics that you can make out of this. I'm sorry, Bert (Andrews).

BERT ANDREWS: No Chinese politics?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. No. Not that.

Q. Mr. President, is General Stilwell in the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: No. He is on his way home.

Q. Mr. President, some of your Australian friends would like to know whether you might consider going down there, during or after the fourth term?

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) That's a new one.

Q. Is that the only answer?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, is General Hurley still in China?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, can General Stilwell's successor in China be announced now?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Could General Stilwell's successor in China

be announced now?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. You had better ask the War Department. I know who he is, but I don't know if they are ready to have it announced.

Q. It's (Major) General (Albert C.) Wedemeyer.

Q. General Wedemeyer.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. It isn't General Wedemeyer.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I just said you would have to ask the War Department.

Q. That was in the original announcement.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, it was? Then all right. What are you asking for?

Q. But not a full replacement.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Not a full replacement of Wedemeyer.

THE PRESIDENT: You would have to ask the War Department. Those are -- those are details that I don't know.

Q. Mr. President, going back to China for a minute, sometime ago ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I can't go back there. I have never been there. (laughter)

Q. Well, let's just pretend that you are there -- this may be "iffy," I don't know -- but sometime ago, I mean a few conferences ago, you discussed at some length about the amount of material we were getting over the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Over the hump.

Q. (continuing) --- over the hump, as contrasted with what they got over the Burma Road when it was operating. Well now, isn't one of the really vital points of difference how that material has been distributed after it reaches the Chinese army, whether it is going to the fighting fronts, or just being spread too thin over the whole army?

THE PRESIDENT: I would be afraid to comment on it, Jim (Wright), because I honestly don't know. There was a question along that line five or six months ago, when we were only getting about 14 thousand tons over the hump. Now that we are getting well over 20 thousand tons a month, I don't know whether that question has been settled or not. So you see my dilemma. I really don't know.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether Mr. Donald Nelson's and General Hurley's mission to China was in connection with the differences between the Generalissimo and General ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That had nothing to do with it.

Q. Had nothing to do with it.

THE PRESIDENT: Had nothing to do with it.

Q. Mr. President, it follows then that there was no connection between what did or did not go over the hump and General Stilwell's removal?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh No. Oh No. Nothing at all.

Q. Is there any significance in the recall from the standpoint of supplying materials to China, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Is there any what?

Q. Any significance in the recall other than the matter of personalities?

THE PRESIDENT: Just personalities, that's all.

Q. Mr. President, was the difference between the Generalissimo and General Stilwell on the matter of policy or personality?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you might say personality.

Q. Wasn't there a question of strategy involved at all, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Did the so called Chinese communists figure in it, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. Try again! (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, have you received the resignation of Ambassador (Clarence E.) Gauss?

THE PRESIDENT: The State Department told me day before yesterday that he was going to resign. Further than that, I don't know. Don't know whether he has. Probably wrote and said he was going to.

Q. Do you know any reasons behind that, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: He has been wanting to for a long time.

Q. Will he be appointed to a new post, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure. Most certainly.

Q. Mr. President, is there any reason to believe

that there is any connection between his resignation, or his coming resignation, and General Stilwell's withdrawal?

THE PRESIDENT: There is no -- no connection, even remote. I'm sorry. Try again! (laughter)

Q. Can you tell us, Mr. President, who might be his successor in China?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't picked out anybody yet. That is Gauss's successor, you mean?

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't got anybody else.

Q. Mr. President, as I understand it, you say that there is no connection between the Stilwell recall and Gauss's resignation?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. That would be another bad guess.

Q. Have you made your election bet yet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I made one on the train -- (laughter) -- twenty-five cents.

BERT ANDREWS: Whom did you bet, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

BERT ANDREWS: Whom did you bet?

THE PRESIDENT: That's a very dangerous question. You know what the answer is? (cupping hands to mouth): None of your damn business! (much laughter)

BERT ANDREWS: All right. Whom did you bet on?

THE PRESIDENT: (cupping hands to mouth): That also is none of your damn business! (more laughter)

Q. Did you get any odds, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: What? (laughter) No. This is an even money bet on a certain State.

Q. With whom?

Q. (interposing) Doesn't that disqualify you from voting, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Doesn't that disqualify you from voting in New York State?

THE PRESIDENT: No. If it's made outside of the State of New York, it's all right. (more laughter)

Q. (aside) Circumstances.

Q. Mr. President, have you made your guess yet ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No, I haven't done that. I have got to do that. Steve, remind me of it.

Q. (interjecting) The time is getting short.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Remind me of it. I have got to do that, and put it in the top drawer as usual.

Q. Will you show it to us, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Will you show it to us?

THE PRESIDENT: Will I what?

Q. Will you show it to us?

THE PRESIDENT: The top drawer?

Q. Your statement on the election?

THE PRESIDENT: It's kept locked when I'm not here. (laughter)

Q. Can you tell us anything, Mr. President, about the Russian withdrawal from the international air conference?

THE PRESIDENT: About its doing what?

Q. About the Russian withdrawal from the air conference?

THE PRESIDENT: No. You will have to ask the State Department about that. All I can tell you is what I read in the papers.

Q. Thank you.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) All right. (to Bert Andrews): You deserved it! (laughter)

BERT ANDREWS: All right. No harm in trying to find out. (more laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #978
Executive Office of the President
November 3, 1944 -- 11.21 A.M., E.W.T.

VOICE: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got much, except Steve (Early) brought the schedule up to date. We are praying for good weather tomorrow, all of us who are going. And I am going right through by train, stopping at Bridgeport, just a little platform appearance and a few kind words. Then we go on to Hartford and get there -- on the train -- at 11.55, and as usual get out and get into the car and go to that park, which is the main park, I suppose. And we will do as we did last year -- I mean four years ago and eight years ago, go up on the bandstand in the car and say a few kind words.

I might be inspired by the insurance buildings that surround the park to say a few kind words about the fact that insurance policies are, in spite of the predictions of four years ago and eight years ago, they are still good. The same thing is going out again this year -- (laughing) -- that they won't be any good if I get re-elected.

And then go back to the train, and then go on to Springfield, ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) That's right.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and make another train appearance in Springfield. And then on to Boston. I get there at 5.30, and the meeting in the evening. I think that's all

there is on the schedule.

Q. Mr. President, do you have a stop at Worcester? I notice Senator Walsh said yesterday ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) He is coming on at Worcester.

And the only other thing I have has been quite a large number of telegrams from individuals and organizations asking me to say something about some time off to vote, and I think -- I am having the thing looked up now -- and I think probably this afternoon Steve will give it to you. I will get out an appeal to employers to let their employees vote.

Of course, this year, more than any years in the recent past, there will probably have to be more time given off to vote, because of two reasons. The first is that nowadays an awful lot of workmen live a long ways from their plant, and in view of the general feeling that the soldiers should vote in the country, they have it tough, to keep -- keep a worker from voting, just because he happens to live fifteen miles away from the plant. Same way with the departments, who -- Navy Yards, arsenals, for instance, all departments -- this went out way back October 12, (reading): "Employees who desire to vote in communities where they are employed will be excused for that purpose for a reasonable time on all election days."

It becomes a question of "reasonable" with the Government department or plant managers.

(continuing reading): "Such authorized absence should not exceed time actually required to vote, and in no event

should it exceed one working day."

In other words, if it's more than one working day that it takes to go home and vote, it's charged up to the annual leave. That's the usual rule. But as I say, it's a question of "reasonable," where the employees live further away than they have in the past. And that is true in a great many cases.

Get that out this afternoon, Steve.

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's all.

Q. Mr. President, how do you think the campaign is going?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. How do you think the campaign is going?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, don't let's have "opinion" questions. I am busy writing a speech, and you are busy writing a story.

Q. Mr. President, Representative Walter Judd of Minnesota has issued a public statement in which he says that General (Joseph W.) Stilwell, as the agent of the White House, gave General Chiang (Kai-shek) an ultimatum demanding that he be placed in full charge of the Chinese army.

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe that's one of those things that I was talking about last night, or that Hannegan was talking about last night.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the reports published this morning that Mr. Wallace will succeed Mr. Hull as Secretary of State?

THE PRESIDENT: I thought that would come. That probably is another one of those things that I talked about last night, or Mr. Hannegan talked about.

Q. Sir, has there been any indication that Secretary Hull plans to resign?

THE PRESIDENT: No, of course not. The answer to that, as I say, is probably one of those things that would fall under the category of what I talked about last night, and what Mr. Hannegan talked about last night. (laughter) Have you got it?

Q. Mr. President, any comment, please, on the published report that Great Britain seeks certain Lend-Lease supplies of a non-military nature for resale in their own export trade?

THE PRESIDENT: Never heard of it. Never heard of it.

Q. It was in the New York Times this morning.

THE PRESIDENT: I'm sorry. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, have you received any word that Senator (Carter) Glass (of Virginia) intends to support you for a fourth term?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't, No. Better ask Jimmy Byrnes.

(long pause here)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(laughter)

(Notebook PC-20 -- Page 164 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #979
Executive Office of the President
November 10, 1944 -- 10.56 A.M., E.W.T.

Q. Happy Fourth Term! (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: The strange thing is I haven't got any news.

Q. That's fine, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: It is?

Q. Keep it that way. We'll stop right now. (more laughter)

Q. What's holding Early up? (more laughter)

MAY CRAIG: (handing the President a silver coin) Your fare to Paris.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, good for you. Fine. What's it made of?

MAY CRAIG: Aluminim.

THE PRESIDENT: Aluminum.

MAY CRAIG: Hasn't got "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" on it, either.

THE PRESIDENT: No, that's "Travail, Famille ---

MAY CRAIG: (interjecting) German issue.

THE PRESIDENT: That's the Boşches. That's the Boşches.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I just said to the front row that I didn't have any news, and there was a chorus of "Thank Gods."

(laughter)

MERRIMAN SMITH: We know you are a busy man today, so we are not going to take up too much time ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) O, Merriman -- (laughter) -- this consideration for me is perfectly amazing! (more laughter) Good.

MERRIMAN SMITH: (haltingly) But there are -- couple of things -- (more laughter) -- the -- the Prime Minister -- (more laughter) -- Prime Minister Churchill said the other day that he thought it was time for another meeting of the Big Three, and indicated it was ---

FRED PASLEY: (interposing) Time for a change! (continued laughter)

Q. (aside) What a bedlam.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there isn't any news on that. We do want to meet whenever we can arrange it. Any details -- it's literally true nothing has been worked out as to time or place. And when they are worked out as to time or place, I won't tell you. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, we understand that one third of the firm of "Martin and Barton" is like a fish out of water. (continued laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a good line too.

Q. Did you win your election bet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I called it off. I got scared. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, I am still curious about your

electoral college guess?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't looked at it. It ought to be in here somewhere -- (searching his middle desk drawer) -- but I don't see it. Did you steal it, Steve? (laughter)

MR. EARLY: No, sir; but I can tell you it was on a little piece of yellow paper, I think.

THE PRESIDENT: It ought to be. You must have stolen it.

MR. EARLY: No. I wish I had, now that you suspect me.

THE PRESIDENT: (still looking) Somebody has gone and stolen it. I don't know what it was. No, it's not. I haven't got it. Well, I'll have to search somebody. (Charlie Fredericks saw a piece of yellow paper in the drawer and directed the President's attention to it) There! -- ah! -- ah! -- (much laughter).

MAY CRAIG: (interjecting) The Secret Service! (continued laughter)

MR. EARLY: That's right.

THE PRESIDENT: Doesn't -- does that add up right?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, mine was 335 -- for <u>me</u> -- (laughter) -- to 196 for my opponent, ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) 335.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- so I wasn't very accurate, was I?

Q. You were conservative.

Q. 335?

MR. EARLY: That's right.

Q. 335?

THE PRESIDENT: 335 ---

Q. (interjecting) 335.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- to 196. That wasn't good at all. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, have you heard from Mr. Dewey yet?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, do you expect to appoint an Ambassador to China soon?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't thought -- thought of it since you asked me last.

Q. Sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't thought of it since you asked me last.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I have got quite a lot of things like that to be done.

Q. When are you likely to name the board to -- for the war surplus property?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, that's held -- held up by one name. I am waiting to hear from that one name.

Q. Mr. President, what was the last report you had on Secretary Hull's health?

THE PRESIDENT: I heard this morning from Dr. McIntire. I asked him how it was. He said it was getting on very well.

Q. Do you expect him back in the State Department

soon, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose so.

Q. Mr. President, have you received a peace feeler from Germany?

THE PRESIDENT: No. That sounds like almost a pre-election question. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, has the French Ambassador been named?

THE PRESIDENT: Has what?

Q. The French Ambassador to the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: Only what I read in the papers. I haven't heard anything. I haven't seen anybody this morning.

Q. May I be the first to ask you, Mr. President, whether you are going to run in '48? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a question that I was asked in 1940, isn't it? (more laughter) It's hoary -- absolutely hoary. It may have been '36 that somebody asked me the same question -- '48.

Q. Have you received congratulations from Mr. Landon, Mr. President?

Q. (interposing) Same answer, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I did. Yes, that's all right, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and he has been in to see me, too.

Q. Mr. President, there was a report this morning that you -- (noise here) -- five-billion-dollar credit to Congress for

the rest of the Allies between the defeat of Germany and the defeat of Japan as a supplement to Lend-Lease?

THE PRESIDENT: I would be very leery of that story. It hasn't even come to me. That makes it particularly dangerous.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President! (much laughter)

Q. Congratulations, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the boys that went to the Nelson House just barely got by. That's all right.

Q. What did you say?

THE PRESIDENT: They just barely got by. It's all right. I was worried for a while.

Q. I think they did pretty well.

THE PRESIDENT: We did bring them back, but barely. (laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #980
Executive Office of the President
November 14, 1944 -- 4.10 P.M., E.W.T.

DORIS FLEESON: How do you do?

THE PRESIDENT: Glad to see you. How have you been?

DORIS FLEESON: Fine.

THE PRESIDENT: May, I see you've got a rival.

MAY CRAIG: What?

THE PRESIDENT: You've got a rival.

DORIS FLEESON: This is a dress.

THE PRESIDENT: Why aren't you in uniform?

DORIS FLEESON: Just give me a chance.

MAY CRAIG: She's staying with me. I'll keep her in order.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Now who outranks who?

MAY CRAIG: She does.

DORIS FLEESON: I rank.

MAY CRAIG: She does.

DORIS FLEESON: Seniority, you know, Mr. President. I am several "numbers" ahead.

THE PRESIDENT: Toss a coin. (laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I have got a thing this "morning." (to May Craig): Got anything today?

Q. (interposing) Well, we wondered if you have heard anything about Hitler, sir? There have been a lot of reports

coming out of Europe.

THE PRESIDENT: That's all I have had, just the reports that appeared in the papers.

Q. Mr. President, three members of the War Labor Board announced yesterday that they would like to resign. Do you have anything that you could tell us, whether their resignation ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Nothing at all. I am looking up the whole question. I can't even tell you when there will be any action down here.

Q. Mr. President, Senator Overton says that the Missouri Valley Authority proposal would be dead, in his opinion, if the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation plan, which he favors, is adopted. Would you care to comment on the acceptability of that plan as a substitute?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not really sufficiently in touch with the plans. I couldn't -- I couldn't even tell you what is in them exactly.

The problem is this, in the Mississippi (meaning Missouri) Valley. Like other watersheds that contain a good many States, there are always problems between -- two kinds. The first is the problem of the States themselves. Each State wants everything, and the say in everything affecting, of course, their own State, but affecting incidentally the whole flow of the river from the top to the bottom, passing through a number of other States. Well, that is something that has to be reconciled.

In the Tennessee watershed, for example, there were, I think, seven States that were affected by the T.V.A., and there

was a lot of feeling that they were going to give up some kind of a right; and that was a good many years ago, and it has been in operation for quite a while, and there isn't one of those States today that feels that they have been -- that State has been unfairly treated. It has been done for the benefit of all the States, and in proportion to the flow of the water, and the mileage, and the character of the land in the whole Valley.

Well, there has been a feeling out there in the Missouri Valley, that there are two parts, the parts further back at the head of the streams -- tributaries -- of the Missouri, and the parts that are lower down and that are affected by floods and other things. And they think that by some other method they will be able to agree, but it's always been terribly hard to get them to agree, unless there is some what might be called a central authority to -- to make the final decision.

Of course, they ought to be heard the whole length of the Missouri, which covers a tremendous territory, but somebody's -- there ought to be somebody -- it's a question of speed -- getting things done. So they would hear them all, and bring them together, and talk things over, and make a final decision.

Then the second part of it relates to a thing that goes way, way back. Who is to build the dam, the Department of the Interior or the War Department? Well, that is purely a jurisdictional thing, and it has never worried me very much. They each have a corps of dam builders, and they are very good. They built some very, very good dams. Some of them were built by the War Department engineers and some by the Reclamation Bureau.

Of course, the theory -- that goes way, way back to 1860 something -- is that irrigation was always turned over to the Interior Department to do, but that navigation was turned over to the Army engineers to do. Well, I don't -- I don't much care who -- who does the actual dam building. It probably is a good thing to have two different dam building authorities -- agencies -- in the Government, because you get a certain amount of competition between two Government agencies.

Well, there is -- as it worked out, they are both pretty good. They are both awfully cocky about the good dams they build. Well, that's fine. That's all to the good. They will both bring in a plan on the same dam, which is part of it navigational in its purpose and part irrigational. And we get plans from both, and then decide which one will do it. Well, that's not bad. There's very little waste as between -- in the competition between the two Departments. I would say you would save money, on the whole. But that is a purely jurisdictional thing within the Government construction work.

Of course, the only real example that we have got in operations on a big scale is the T.V.A., and the people down there in all the seven States like it, and it seems to be working. There is no local dispute over the T.V.A. so far, because it has been fair as between the different States. So I don't -- I can't tell you in that one particular case about the Missouri, because I am not sufficiently up to date on these different -- these different bills.

I still think there ought to be a Missouri Valley

Authority. There are an awful lot of States -- an awful lot of territory.

And of course, I hope that there will be an authority, for instance, for the Arkansas river. Well, people there -- in the East don't -- don't visualize it. The Arkansas river rises right on the Continental Divide in western Colorado, and it already has become -- has become a menace -- floods -- by the time it gets down to southeastern Colorado. Pueblo is on the Arkansas river. Well, Pueblo is way out in Colorado. And then it goes -- meanders down through a lot of States before it gets down to Arkansas and Louisiana to the Mississippi river. It's an ideal thing to put under an authority.

Same way, we have talked about a Columbia river authority and some people talked about an Ohio river authority, so that I have drawn the thing out on a sheet of paper so many times I can do it in my sleep. A map of the United States -- well, I divide it up roughly into seven different regions, one of them being the main stem of the Mississippi river itself, because that has been a separate entity for all time. There is the barge line on the -- on the Mississippi, and it is more of a unit than any other river, just a narrow strip from the top end of the country to the southern end of the country.

And I hope that in time we will get seven different authorities, each one with a separate general location.

For instance, a good example, the Cumberland river, which starts up in -- what? -- northern Kentucky and wanders down into Tennessee. And it's almost parallel with the

Tennessee, and actually as it gets west, just before the Ohio goes into the Mississippi, it turns north and goes into the Mississippi within ten or fifteen miles of where the Tennessee goes in. And yet it is an entirely different watershed. Well, in all probability, affecting in general terms the same States, it ought to be part of the -- of the Tennessee -- Tennessee Valley Authority, to save time and trouble. And the construction work of the T.V.A., of course, will be completed pretty soon. I think it's fair to take on another valley basin.

When you come to the other problems, the little rivers to the south of it, like -- what? -- Tom Bigbee, which starts across a little watershed about 150 feet high and about 25 miles from the Tennessee -- and the Tennessee, of course, running at that point northwest to the Tom Bigbee and due south to the Gulf of Mexico -- well, there are half a dozen Tom Bigbees in that -- in the Gulf section. Probably, they should be put into a separate authority, including rivers in Texas.

But it is awfully hard, because there is so much feeling, that no one State wants to join up with another State in the general policy or management of running a great watershed project. Mind you, it isn't only water power. That is one of the -- one of the lesser things, on the whole.

Q. Mr. President, there is another waterway perennial that has been activated now, and that is the St. Lawrence.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Well, I was wondering whether you have made up your mind as to whether this would be attempted as a treaty

now, or as part of legislation? The immediate proposal is legislation before (Senator George D.) Aiken, to put it on the Rivers and Harbors bill.

THE PRESIDENT: I think constitutionally it could be done either way. Now I haven't talked to the Senators about it, Jim (Wright), but I am going to do it. I don't care much, as long as I get action.

Q. Mr. President, do you believe that Senator Aiken's legislation should go through in this session?

THE PRESIDENT: You mean in the -- November and December?

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you would have to ask them on the Hill. It depends largely upon what they want. If it goes over to January-February, I am not frightfully concerned about it. I hope it will go through, one way or the other. That is a question of legislative preference. That lets everybody out. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us about your inauguration plans?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw it on the ticker. (laughter)

Q. Can you confirm it?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Can you confirm it?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, it's all right. I had Ed Halsey and Dave -- what's his name, the Architect of the Capitol? ---

VOICES: (interjecting) Lynn.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- Dave Lynn down Saturday, and I said, "You know, I am terribly concerned about dollars and cents because I am afraid that a lot of people in the Senate -- Senator Byrd is the Chairman of this Committee -- (much laughter) -- and what are you laughing at? -- (more laughter) -- and they have appropriated 25 thousand dollars for the inauguration. But, you know, I think I can save an awful lot of money." (more laughter)

And with that desire to save money, I said, "I think I can do it for less than ten percent of that cost. I think I can do it for less than two thousand dollars. Give them a light buffet luncheon, that will be the only expense." (laughter)

The ladies here are all fascinated over what a good housekeeper I am. (more laughter)

MAY CRAIG: (interjecting) That's not what fascinates me! (loud laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) So they were quite interested. They said, "How can you do it for less than two thousand dollars?" A lot of that can go to consomme and chicken-a-la-king, and a few sandwiches and coffee. "Well," I said, "I think I can do it."

The best architectural view, almost, in the Capital is the front of the White House that was originally meant to be the front door. There wasn't any, what's it called? -- the north portico. There wasn't -- when the White House was built -- there wasn't any north portico. And the main driveway was this one right here -- (indicating) -- that had these two curving

stairways -- steps, up to a perfectly charming porch -- curving porch. And that was the front of the White House until about 18 -- what? -- 25, somewhere along there. And it really is lovely, the iron-work of those steps and the beautiful design. And there's a rail on top. (laughter)

Q. (aside) Wonderful.

Q. Mr. President, on the car hire, unless you give us permission to circle, it's going to be very tough on the expense account. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: No. I tell you what we found. Up there, Dave Lynn has got an iron scaffold, and I have got down here a wooden scaffold, and by putting them up both, there will be room not only for the photographers but all of the press, so everybody will get a chance to see it. Now isn't that a happy thought? (laughter)

Q. Are you going to parade any on inauguration day?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Who is there here to parade?

Q. That gets back to car hire. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, is the Administration going to continue consultations on foreign policy with the Republican leaders, now that Mr. Dulles is gone?

THE PRESIDENT: That I don't know. You had better ask Stettinius.

Q. Mr. President, does Mr. Byrnes's decision to stay on as War Mobilizer, until Germany goes out of the war -- does that indicate that -- or does that clean up your immediate shifts, or are there immediate problems or are there other

things coming?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Lots more. I sent half a dozen appointments to the Congress today.

Q. Those were pretty minor appointments.

Q. Did you say that he is staying on to avoid ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No. He is obviously the best man for this job, that's all.

Q. Mr. President, have you picked a successor to Ambassador Gauss yet?

THE PRESIDENT: Done what?

Q. Have you picked a successor to Ambassador Gauss yet?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not yet.

Q. Have you done anything about that resignation from the man (Secretary of the Interior Ickes) that Dewey was going to kick out?

THE PRESIDENT: No! (laughter) I know exactly. I haven't done anything about it.

Q. Mr. President, in your earlier comment on the Labor Board, you said you were looking into the whole question. Did you mean just the question of the Labor Board, or the question of the -- all the labor agencies?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, one or two others involved. That gives you no information at all. (laughter)

Q. Absolutely. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, if there is any inaugural ceremony, have you thought who might be the inaugural chairman?

THE PRESIDENT: Isn't that up to -- oh, there won't be any. Why do we have one?

Q. (interjecting) We have to have one.

Q. I don't know.

THE PRESIDENT: Now you see, the way they have been running before, we put up -- what was the name of the architect?

MR. EARLY: Dave Lynn.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Your architect?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. Waddy Wood. Well, each year since I have been inaugurated -- (laughter) -- we have had Waddy Wood draw a picture. One year it was Jackson. Another year it was the Federal Building in New York, and they put up an elaborate structure and elaborate stands. Now we didn't get any money from Congress, but that was the big job of the inaugural chairman, to sell the tickets; and the seats in all those stands were sold at a high price -- all we could get. And we came out each year about even, and paid for the whole thing. Now w e are not going to have any inaugural stands this year -- so there won't be any this year. We won't need any money.

And this little party out here, we will have to have tickets, because otherwise it would become an Easter egg hunt -- (laughter) -- and aside from that I don't think there is any need for an inaugural chairman. Maybe I may find somebody, if they would like to have it, but no real need.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us something about your talk today with the new Australian Minister?

THE PRESIDENT: I received him and had a very nice talk with him. That's about all. There wasn't anything particular brought up.

Q. Mr. President, have you made a decision on the proposal to have the Army and Navy game moved to a bigger stadium?

THE PRESIDENT: I am talking to the Secretary of War this afternoon. I meant to do it this morning, and I haven't.

Q. Mr. President -- sir, have you received a message of congratulation from General Franco of Spain?

THE PRESIDENT: Congratulations? What does he congratulate me on?

Q. On re-election. It's reported in the press, sir, that he sent you a message of congratulations.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I haven't seen one. But I haven't finished going through them all.

Q. Have you received one from Governor Dewey?

THE PRESIDENT: I had a letter yesterday, and I haven't replied to it.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) What kind of letter was it?

THE PRESIDENT: No, you can't see my personal files. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us what you talked to General O'Dwyer about?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, talked to him about Italy.

Italy is still a problem.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Charles Taft today proposed that the Johnson Act be repealed -- Johnson Act in regard to loans to foreign governments in default. Have you any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Who did that?

Q. Charles Taft -- State Department.

THE PRESIDENT: I never heard of it. Don't know.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #981
Executive Office of the President
November 17, 1944 -- 11.36 a.m., e.w.t.

MR. EARLY: (to May Craig): May, sit down. (she did) I think that's yours by default now.

THE PRESIDENT: You are the only veteran present, May.

MAY CRAIG: What?

THE PRESIDENT: You are the only veteran present.

MAY CRAIG: She (Doris Fleeson) is still in bed.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry to be so very late. We have certain actions on, as you know, in Europe and other places. I couldn't get here earlier. Don't think I have anything. Steve didn't give me anything.

Q. Mr. President, where is the Army-Navy game going to be?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. (laughter)

Q. Is there a shortage of cigarette holders too?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Is there a shortage of cigarette holders too?

THE PRESIDENT: No! (producing a holder from his pocket) The day is saved. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us something about your visit with Dr. Kung yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT: Who?

Q. Dr. Kung? H. H. Kung?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, just the usual thing. Talked about the same type of thing right along, ---

Q. (interjecting) Supplies?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- the economic end of the China situation.

Q. Have you decided to appoint a new Ambassador to China yet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes, ---

Q. (interjecting) Are you going ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- but I have to get an agrément first.

Q. Will his name be sent up ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) If I get the agrément.

Q. Mr. President, are you making a war bond speech Sunday night?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I haven't prepared it. Don't know what I am going to say -- but very short.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about the progress of the drive on the western front?

THE PRESIDENT: Not a thing. I wish I could. That is right in -- it is in operation at the present time.

Q. Mr. President, are we going to have universal training legislation coming along soon?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so. I have been for it, as you know, right along.

MAY CRAIG: Could you tell us what degree of

universal training, what kind of universal training? There is a great deal of discussion as to that.

THE PRESIDENT: I should think that was a matter for legislation. For instance, should we -- should we teach cooking to the girls?

MAY CRAIG: Some need it, of course. (laughter)

MR. EARLY: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President -- President, there is some legislation pending. That Wadsworth bill I thought had been cleared with you sometime ago, for the training of every boy who reaches 18. Is that, in broad outlines, what you favor?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Of course, the idea is between the ages of 18 -- it's one year of service out of the life of every boy in this country to his own government, beginning let us say at 18 up to perhaps -- you wouldn't have to serve -- it depends on family circumstances a good deal -- between the ages of 18 and 23, something like that, to give his year of service to his own government.

Q. Mr. President, would that be military?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Would that be ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That -- there you are now -- now you're as bad as May. (laughter) Would you call cooking military? Well now, in some cases it is and in some cases it isn't. Or carpentry -- lots of things like that.

Q. This really is going to be military training

though, isn't it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you went to a military camp, or the Navy. You would know that it would take you about six months to know your right hand from your left. It would take you a great many years to learn it, probably, in a different way.

Q. I'm not sure now. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Neither am I. And there are an awful lot of boys in the country that have to be told how to brush their teeth. And there are a lot of boys who have never been taught to live with other men in a camp. And that takes time. You take our Navy boys that come in. It takes up a long time to teach them to keep clean. Very few people realize that. It takes a lot of people -- and the percentage, in this country, of people who are turned down for physical reasons is appalling. And the mothers of the country are just beginning to learn that.

Look at the tremendous physical advantages that were given to the boys in C.C.C. camps. Well, they didn't have military training. There are lots of things the boys can do for the government, and in -- in case of war we will have a much larger percentage of boys that can defend the country. Now the question of where the Congress comes in, don't ask me that question, because that is another thing that is up to Congress.

MAY CRAIG: Mr. President, it wasn't the agenda I was thinking of so much as the national guard people would like to have the national guard do it, and have three or four months spread over several years, or do it in a drill a week, or something like that.

THE PRESIDENT: Won't work.

Q. Mr. President, as a representative of the octogenerian bloc ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes -- you and I. (laughter)

Q. (continuing) --- I remember how much the pendulum swung back after the last war. That is why I was interested in whether you were going to press for it now or not.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, because when I say "now," I mean this winter. I don't know that there is very much work that can be done in the present session of Congress before they go home, but the new Congress will be here in January.

Q. Mr. President, would you hope for a continuation of the national guard idea, in addition to this particular year of training?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I haven't considered that at all.

Q. Mr. President, have you made any progress ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Depends largely on the States. Depends on Congress.

Q. Mr. President, have you made any progress toward the proposed meeting between -- among you, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: Not yet.

Q. Your old rule still stands, you would like to see them ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Oh, Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- as soon as possible?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) We all three of us want to see each other.

Q. Have you made up your mind, sir, whether you are going to accept General de Gaulle's invitation?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope to some day. But the "some day" is, at the present time, rather vague. It is more important for me to see the Prime Minister and Mr. Stalin than -- and the question of geography comes in, too.

Q. There have been reports that Postmaster General Frank Walker now wants to step out of the Cabinet, Mr. President. Have you heard anything specific on that point?

THE PRESIDENT: The only -- the only thing I have heard is that the press and -- between the press and radio I have been offered, I think five Cabinets complete -- (laughter) -- and, of course, none of them has the same people in them. The press and radio have been awfully good to me in making all these suggestions. I want to thank them all. (more laughter)

Q. (interjecting) Any of the Cabinets any good?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I don't know whether that is sarcasm or irony. (more laughter)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #982
Executive Office of the President
November 21, 1944 -- 4.11 P.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: (to the front row): Got enough elbow room?

Q. Just about enough.

THE PRESIDENT: Still growing. Both of them growing a little. (then to May Craig): What have you done to the usual occupant of that chair?

MAY CRAIG: He won't sit down.

THE PRESIDENT: Why, there's Mr. Godwin! Why, you're not mad at me, are you? (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: What?

THE PRESIDENT: You're not mad at me?

MR. GODWIN: (laughing) Ladies first. Age before beauty. (more laughter)

MAY CRAIG: That really "leaves" me.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I have got any news, but I wanted to say something -- put in a little plea -- with some others, like General Eisenhower -- for the continued production of certain necessary things -- ships and shells, and some other things that we are still short of.

The case is, of course, perfectly clear. We are not sending enough shells over to the other side at the present time, with the result that they have to ration the shells

that we are firing. Well, that is costly in life.

And it comes in part from -- in industry -- shell industry and ship industry -- from people quitting their job in this country. The result is that we fill their places with inexperienced labor, and the inexperienced labor in a good many cases, in learning how to turn out their job, smashes the machine itself, not purposefully but because they are so everlastingly inexperienced. Every time that you get a hundred new men to take the places of people who have left, the chances are that one or two of them will smash up a machine. Well, that slows up the actual production.

And, of course, on the -- on the question of people quitting their job, there are lots -- lots of reasons for it. One of the reasons is the fear that they won't have work after the war. And I think that they need reassurance on that, because almost everybody that knows much about it realizes that not only the Government but -- but industry is working awfully hard to provide jobs, not only for the people at the front in uniform but also for the people over here who have been turning out munitions during the course of the war.

There was a -- an article the other day -- story by Charlie Wilson of General Electric, which is an awfully good little talk on this question of jobs. And I am going to ask Steve to make it available to you. You may have read it, but it is worth reading again.

It's along the line of a lot of industrialists who see the thing to do is not to cut the pay envelope at the

end of the war, but to -- as, for instance, when we go back to a 40-hour week, normally the pay envelope would be a great deal less than for people who are working 54 or 56 hours now. But so many of the industrialists like -- like Charlie Wilson have got a -- a more modern point of view, and feel that the pay envelope -- perhaps it can't be maintained absolutely to the actual dollar or dime, but substantially it should be maintained.

And therefore, I think it is safe to say that the -- when that time comes, the tendency in the country is going to be not to decrease wages but at least to keep up actual wages to approximately what they are now. Well, actual wages means to take home pay on Saturday night. Work it out any number of different ways.

So I will ask Steve to have that mimeographed, and let you have copies of it. It's -- it's an old -- old story. It's a week old. But I think it's -- it's so good, coming from the head of one of the largest companies in this country, and will be so startling to a lot of people, as coming from the head of a great industrial company, that portions of it at least are worth reproducing.

I don't think I have another thing.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your visit with Paul Fitzpatrick today?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I just said "howdy" to him. I had only one word with him during the campaign.

Q. I wondered if the question of (Senator James M.)

Mead (of New York) running again for Governor of New York came up?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, No. We didn't talk about anything two -- two years hence.

Q. They talk about it four years hence, you know. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, may I ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Getting wild, Jim (Wright). (??)

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- may I revert to this Charlie Wilson matter? Many of the workmen seem to think that it isn't only pay in munitions, but that there will be a considerable lag in reconversion, the old story that was -- we discussed months -- several months ago.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. GODWIN: Have you anything new on that, or any ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No, ---

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- suggestions?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- except that I'll -- I'll illustrate by telling you the story of when the automobile plants out in Detroit were turned into munitions plants, and all of them, practically, agreed that it would take about six months before they could convert from automobiles to munitions. And we were worried about it. We supposed that the lag in employment there -- the changeover -- would cost the company and the workers about six months in wages.

Well, actually, when they came to do the job, it

was less than half that period. It was done much faster than the -- the planners, the Army, the Navy, the companies, or the -- the workers themselves anticipated. And I feel a little bit like reconversion -- about reconversion as I have had proved to me about conversion.

Q. Mr. President, there is a great deal of renewed controversy on the Pacific Coast about the matter of allowing the return of these Japanese who were evacuated in 1942. Do you think that the danger of espionage or sabotage has sufficiently diminished so that there can be a relaxation of the restrictions that have been in effect for the last two years?

THE PRESIDENT: In most of the cases. That doesn't mean all of them. And, of course, we have been trying to -- I am now talking about Japanese people from Japan who are citizens ---

Q. (interjecting) Japanese Americans.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- Japanese Americans. I am not talking about the Japanese themselves. A good deal of progress has been made in scattering them through the country, and that is going on almost every day. I have forgotten what the figures are. There are about roughly a hundred -- a hundred thousand Japanese-origin citizens in this country. And it is felt by a great many lawyers that under the Constitution they can't be kept locked up in concentration camps. And a good many of them, as I remember it -- you had better check with the Secretary of the Interior on this -- somewhere around 20 or 25 percent of all those citizens have re-placed themselves, and in

a great many parts of the country.

And the example that I always cite, to take a unit, is the size of the county, whether it's in the Hudson River valley or in western "Joe-gia" (Georgia) which we all know, in one of those counties, probably half a dozen or a dozen families could be scattered around on the farms and worked into the community. After all, they are American citizens, and we all know that American citizens have certain privileges. And they wouldn't -- what's my favorite word? -- discombobolate -- (laughter) -- the existing population of those particular counties very much. After all -- what? -- 75 thousand families scattered all around the United States is not going to upset anybody.

Q. (interposing) But, sir, if I may interrupt ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And, of course, we are actuated by the -- in part by the very wonderful record that the Japanese in that battalion in Italy have been making in the war. It is one of the outstanding battalions we have.

Q. But, sir, the discussion on the West Coast is more about the relaxation of the military restrictions in that prohibited area, as to whether they should be allowed in the areas from which they have been excluded. It isn't about allowing them to go elsewhere in the country. I was wondering if you felt that the danger of espionage had sufficiently diminished so that the military restrictions that were passed could be lifted?

THE PRESIDENT: That I couldn't tell you, because I don't know.

Q. There hasn't been any difficulty about that

general policy question?

Q. Mr. President, did you have up the question of war financing with Secretary Morgenthau and Admiral Leahy today -- and Mr. White of the Treasury?

THE PRESIDENT: Just a continuing thing. Nothing new on it.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Has it -- have you had a chance yet to start going into the budget for next year?

THE PRESIDENT: Mmm. I have done just about what I have done at this time of the year. I have still got quite a number of conferences scheduled with Harold Smith. Getting along all right.

Q. Does it look, sir, as if it would be somewhere around the size of this year's budget?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, we don't cast -- cast it up that way.

Q. Mr. President, have you had any request for intercession in the Polish territorial dispute? There was a report today that you had it from the Premier (Mikolajczyk) in London?

THE PRESIDENT: For about three years. Nothing new.

Q. No new recommendations?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, Lord Keynes is supposed to have -- just on the point of finishing his discussions over here with various State Department and Treasury officials. We understand that that has had to do with second phase Lend-Lease. Is

there anything you can say on the nature of the Keynes mission?

THE PRESIDENT: What do you mean, second phase Lend-Lease?

Q. The logical successor to Lend-Lease as we now know it in our relationship with Britain.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Lend-Lease will continue just exactly as it has.

Q. Is that without any terminal thought?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Without any terminal thought?

THE PRESIDENT: Unless you can tell me when the war ends?

Q. Is that total war?

THE PRESIDENT: (nodding) Germany and Japan.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, do you think that the point of view you attribute to Mr. Wilson is a pretty general or dominant one among business men now, with regard to postwar purchasing power, or is that an iconoclast ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) How do you mean?

Q. With regard to the maintenance of purchasing power after the war, which you (just) discussed in the (press) conference?

THE PRESIDENT: I will put it this way: it's growing.

Q. Mr. President, last August, sir, in your Bremerton speech, you said you thought it was desirable to establish a commission for the development of Alaska in the interest of

the soldiers and veterans.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) Has that commission been appointed, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, all kinds of things have been done about it. No commission has been appointed yet. It has taken up a lot of study, and I don't know whether it will take the form of a commission, or whether it will take the form of definite recommendations.

Q. Mr. President, paraphrasing some published reports today, has there been any snag in plans for a meeting between you and Prime Minister Churchill and ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) We are all ---

Q. (continuing) --- Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- all hoping very much that it will be held as soon as possible, and you know what that means.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, did you say, sir, that you hope to have it before the end of this year?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I honestly don't know. There are operational problems involved. There are travel problems involved. All kinds of things involved. And I really couldn't make a guess.

Q. Mr. President, in view of your statement a few minutes ago that you have those Budget problems and conferences to take up before you finish the Budget, and also the fact

that you have your State of the Union Message, those would point to no conferences until possibly after inauguration. Is that proper speculation?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't be able to guess. I wouldn't try to write a story on it because it would probably -- probably be -- what do they call it? -- too highly speculative.

Q. Have you heard anything on an Ambassador -- Ambassador's appointment for China, sir? Anything new?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I don't know. It might have come in this morning. I haven't seen the afternoon mail.

Q. Mr. President, the Rivers -- the Budget, and Rivers and Harbors bill in the Senate, contain authorizations for the Missouri River which may be prejudicial to your Missouri Valley recommendations. Do you think either of these bills, or both of them, should be passed at this session with those items in, or should the M.V.A. authorization be included -- substituted ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I have no idea whether it will pass this session, but I have asked the Director of the Budget to study that very question, as to whether either bill would be prejudicial to a Missouri Valley Authority. That is as far as I have got.

Q. You haven't had a report yet?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. That's the Bureau of the Budget?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything more specific about what Mr. Nelson's duties will be in his new job?

THE PRESIDENT: Heavens! I just handed out a story on that -- pretty good story.

Q. Do you remember saying anything sinister in the polling booth at Hyde Park, Mr. President? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I don't know who the fellow was that wrote that story for Time, but I am going to withdraw his card from these conferences -- if he comes to these conferences -- I don't know who he was -- on the ground of deafness.

Part -- part of what he said was true -- perfectly true, but just the -- for the sake of the record, so that I won't get any more letters from ministerial associations -- (laughter) -- I am -- as I -- I went into the booth, an old friend of mine, Tom Leonard, who is one of the inspectors -- a captain at the election booth -- or whatever they call it -- was standing right outside; and I got hold of this handle that you have to pull 'round back of your neck, and it didn't click. So I started another go at it, and that locked it. And I couldn't do anything about it. The thing was locked -- the curtain was locked.

So I said to Tom, over the top of the -- the curtain, I said, "Tom, the damn thing won't work."

Now, the trouble is that some person -- whoever he

was I don't know, but he must have been awfully deaf, because he added another short word before the word "damn" which I didn't use. (laughter) Well, I suppose that is his -- his privilege. However, he is too deaf to suit me -- (more laughter) -- especially because I didn't, on that occasion, take the name of the Deity in vain. I said "damn." (more laughter)

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) So that's all there is to it. Now, I am not going to ask the White House Correspondents' Association to expel him for being "deef," because that is pretty severe punishment, but the Association ought to know what to do with him. I suppose probably the best thing to do is to pay his expenses and have him go to a good ear doctor. (more laughter) Well, that's all there is to that episode.

JIM WRIGHT: What are you going to do with a man who is "deef" like I am? I didn't hear you say it, and I was there! (much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Jim, don't you ---

JIM WRIGHT: (continuing) May I still come?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- your imagination is good, but it isn't <u>that</u> good. (more laughter)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #983
Executive Office of the President
(Monday) November 27, 1944 -- 12.33 P.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: I am the only person in this country who can't bet on the Army and Navy game.

Q. Why is that?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Can't you?

THE PRESIDENT: I have to be absolutely impartial.

Q. Not quietly, between you and "Pa"?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. (laughter)

Q. Have to sit on both sides of the field at once.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that I have to do.

MR. EARLY: The Army has the edge this year.

THE PRESIDENT: First half on one side, and the second half on the other side, so I'm all right. That doesn't mean that "Pa" can't bet.

GENERAL WATSON: No, sir. I'm taking anybody's even money that I can get. (laughter)

Q. You're really taking them.

Q. We are all here.

THE PRESIDENT: All here?

Well, I have to announce with very great regret, deep regret, the resignation of the Secretary of State.

And I have seen him, of course, quite a good deal.

I have been out there three or four times, and had long talks with him. And his doctors tell him, and he feels, that his complete recovery would be retarded by having the responsibility during that period of recovery. And he feels that it isn't right to the country to have him unable to carry out all his functions at this time.

Of course, he has kept in very close touch with the Department, and saw a good many people out there -- probably too many -- and he is coming along all right. It's one of those long things. He had had it two years ago, or three years ago, I think, when he went down to Miami and he had to stay for about three months. But he really is -- he is coming along all right; and the main thing to do, from my point of view, is to think a little bit about his recovery, to take the responsibility off of his shoulders at this time.

He will act -- I don't know what you would call it, but he will keep in very close touch with me, and be in and around Washington for a while, a good while; and I suppose you can say that he would act as -- to me -- as adviser on foreign policy. I won't give him a sheepskin for it. But he actually will be, as a matter of practical fact, of course, in close touch and do everything that he possibly can to carry on and carry out the wonderful start that he has made on the United Nations' plan, aiming towards peace during everybody's lifetime at least.

And I don't think there's any more news than that.

Q. How about a successor?

THE PRESIDENT: I just said there was no more news than that.

Q. Is that effective immediately, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, for our guidance, do you expect to name a successor almost immediately, or can we expect that Mr. Stettinius will act ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I said there was no more news on that.

Q. Mr. President, you have gone through the form -- the formalities of submitting a resignation and your acceptance of it ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- have all been gone through?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Will there be any exchange of letters made public?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. The reason is that his letter of resignation -- that one -- is a short letter of resignation. No news in it. And the other letters are personal letters between the Secretary and me.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, what ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I told him yesterday that under the circumstances I felt I had to go ahead and accept it.

Q. The resignation effective as of yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT: No. When a successor is appointed.

Q. Effective when a successor is appointed?

THE PRESIDENT: When a successor is appointed.

Q. Mr. President, are you seeing Acting Secretary Stettinius today?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. (adding) In fact, he is lunching with me.

Q. To change the subject a little bit, Mr. President, we hear that you might be taking a vacation pretty shortly.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I might go to -- I am -- almost any point, north, east, south and west. I am -- my plans, as I said before, are somewhat in a state of flux. I might surprise everybody. That is one reason why we have to keep -- go back to the -- to the old schedule of off the record.

Q. Mr. President, this is rather trivial, but some people are wondering how you are getting along with your cigarette supplies? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I am not smoking nearly so many. That is one reason.

Q. Because of the shortage, Mr. ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

Q. Because of the shortage, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Because of my throat. I haven't smoked nearly so many cigarettes since last -- since Hobcaw. I learned to do -- not to do without them, because that would be tough -- (more laughter) -- but instead of the two packs a day that I did smoke, now I smoke substantially less than one pack, which makes it easier. And I am not hoarding.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(hurried exits)

THE PRESIDENT: All right.

(laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #984
Executive Office of the President
December 19, 1944, at 4.15 p.m., e.w.t.

THE PRESIDENT: How are you?

Q. Have a good rest?

THE PRESIDENT: Good time. (then to Earl Godwin, sitting down in May Craig's chair) You threw May out!

MR. GODWIN: You look good.

THE PRESIDENT: The first thing that happens ---

MR. GODWIN: (interposing) She says age before beauty!

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- the day I get home and you throw her out. (laughter) I think that's pretty tough. That's one thing I can't court-martial you on.

MR. GODWIN: Good.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know whether there's anything else I can court-martial you on.

MR. GODWIN: You can't court-martial me, I've got my draft card.

THE PRESIDENT: You don't think I could? And I could make it stick. That's easy.

MR. GODWIN: I belong to the musicians union. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: You see, I can induct anybody.

MR. GODWIN: Can you?

THE PRESIDENT: I can induct any one of you.

MR. GODWIN: There's my draft card.

THE PRESIDENT: And the minute you get inducted, you're subject to court-martial.

Q. (aside) Serve you right if you inducted him.

MAY CRAIG: You can't induct us (ladies).

THE PRESIDENT: Pretty close to it. I can take you into the WAVES -- that's my own particular thing. How would you like to belong to the WAVES?

MAY CRAIG: What?

THE PRESIDENT: How would you like to belong to the WAVES?

MAY CRAIG: I'd like the WAC better.

THE PRESIDENT: Really?

MAY CRAIG: They go places.

MR. GODWIN: Yes.

MR. EARLY: Good for you, May. (laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I won't say Merry Christmas yet, I see you all on Friday. I hear that your general health is all right. I have been getting reports once a day from Steve (Early) as to each person and his conduct, ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting, laughing) Oh!

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and so forth. So far, it has checked pretty well. You are to be congratulated on such good reports. Otherwise, I don't know anything. The "big chief" is here, sitting in his accustomed chair. He has been away a long time. Threw a lady out, in order to get it!

(laughter)

MR. GODWIN: You embarrass me. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got any news.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Bevin said in London last week that you initialed the Quebec British plan for British stabilization of Greece. Could you tell us anything about that?

THE PRESIDENT: Wasn't that denied?

Q. Don't think so, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: State Department? I think so.

Q. No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think they said something in a more polite form than that.

Q. Is it to be denied, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't bring it up again. I think it's contentious. I found a new word when I was away: contentious. (laughter) I wouldn't bring it up. There is nothing in that.

Q. Mr. President, some of your strongest supporters in the Senate, as well as some of your most ardent opponents ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Sounds as if you are getting contentious again. (laughter)

Q. (continuing) Let's just leave it your strongest supporters then -- went into detail yesterday, and some of them today, I think, in saying that they thought the time had come for you, the President, to re-state the foreign policy of the United States. That came from Senator Pepper and Senator

Guffey also. Is there any comment you would care to make, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I don't think so. I wouldn't try it yourself, to re-state it, either.

Q. I beg your pardon?

THE PRESIDENT: If I were you, I wouldn't try to re-state it yourself, any of you. It's on the record.

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, the Evening Star last night had a headline which said "United States opposes partitioning of Poland," whereas the Times-Herald had a headline "United States supports partitioning of Poland."

THE PRESIDENT: Now that ---

Q. (continuing) I wonder if you would care to indicate your preference as between those two? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well now, <u>there</u> I am perfectly willing to state my preference. I much prefer the Star to the other paper in Washington. I didn't say newspaper, I said paper.

Q. What is the distinction, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. What's the distinction?

THE PRESIDENT: Just that distinction between -- between a decent paper and a -- a -- another type of paper.

MR. GODWIN: (aside) Contenticus! That's the way.

MAY CRAIG: Well, Mr. President, this is a contentious question, but I would like a serious answer. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: You would find it awful hard to get, May.

MAY CRAIG: There's a good deal of question as to

whether you are going right or left, and I would like your opinion on which way you are going?

THE PRESIDENT: I am going down the whole line a little left of center. I think that was answered, that question, eleven and a half years ago, and still holds.

MAY CRAIG: But you told us a little while ago that you were going to have Dr. Win-The-War and not Dr. New Deal.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) That's right.

MAY CRAIG: (continuing) The question is whether you are going back to be Dr. New Deal after the war ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No, no. No. Keep right along a little to the left of center, which includes winning the war. That's not much of an answer, is it?

MAY CRAIG: No. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: However, you have broken the ice, May.

Q. Mr. President, do you care to discuss the budget for the next fiscal year?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I haven't had a chance to see Harold (Smith) today. I am going to see him tomorrow.

Q. Mr. President, if you are going down a little left of center, how does that match with the six appointments you sent up to the Hill on the State Department?

THE PRESIDENT: Very well.

Q. Would you call them a little left of center?

THE PRESIDENT: I call me -- myself -- a little left of center.

Q. You call what, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I call myself a little left of center. I have got a lot of people in the Administration -- oh, I know some of them are extreme right and extreme left, and everything else -- a lot of people in the Administration, and I cannot vouch for them all. They work out pretty well, on the whole, in the -- in the course of -----. Just think -- think, this crowd here in this room -- My Lord, you will find every opinion from -- between left and extreme right.

Q. We are not in your Administration, Mr. President.

Q. (interposing) Do you find them all for you?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Do you find them all for you?

THE PRESIDENT: No. A surprising number are.

Q. Mr. President, would you welcome, and do you see the prospect of an early conference with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw that. Yes. A highly speculative story.

Q. I asked you if you saw the prospect of an early conference?

THE PRESIDENT: I said it's highly -- highly -- what? -- what was the word I used about it? -- speculative.

Q. I would like to eliminate the speculation and go to the highest source. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I know you would. So would I. You are not the only one. (more laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, in being a little left of center, you have noticed in your life that many a progressive or liberal stays where he is and becomes hopelessly conservative as time goes on.

THE PRESIDENT: And you are exactly the same age as I am.

MR. GODWIN: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Now, do you feel that you are getting more conservative?

MR. GODWIN: I think I am.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you?

MR. GODWIN: That's in contrast to some of the things I see.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's -- that's bad. You must be older than I am. (much laughter) Old age hasn't crept up on me yet. You ought to be careful. You ought to watch that; it's a serious thing when it happens.

MR. GODWIN: You watch that Senate a while.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: You watch that Senate a while, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) That's right.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- you'll find out where you are.

Q. But no flat statement has been made, nor a date fixed for your next meeting with Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Not true.

Q. Mr. President, whatever became of the

generalship for Mayor LaGuardia? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: That is -- what's the word? -- it's a French phrase: entrant.

Q. What's that?

Q. (aside) Bring the axe.

Q. Could you interpret that, sir -- translate it?

THE PRESIDENT: If that means anything to you, it's grand.

Q. He has still got the uniforms. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, did Mr. Churchill ever sign the Atlantic Charter?

THE PRESIDENT: Nobody ever signed the Atlantic Charter. Now that's an amazing statement.

Q. Where is it, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you're thinking in awfully -- oh, what will I say? -- banal phrases and thought.

There isn't any copy of the Atlantic Charter, so far as I know. I haven't got one. The British haven't got one. The nearest thing you will get is the radio operator on the AUGUSTA and on the PRINCE OF WALES. That's the nearest thing you will come to it. It's one of the things that was agreed to on board ship, and there was no formal document.

And the aides were directed to have the scribbled thing, which was -- great many corrections, some I suppose in Mr. Churchill's handwriting, and some in mine, and some in the -- who was it? -- Sir Alec Cadogan's handwriting, some in scraps of paper, some in Sumner Welles's handwriting -- and

the aides were directed to have it sent off to the British government, and to the United States government, and released to the press. That is the Atlantic Charter.

Q. Well, Mr. President, is it not true that all of the United Nations have signed the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Oh, Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- obligations of the Atlantic Charter ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) There -- Yes, that ---

Q. (continuing) --- through the Declaration of Washington?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that was done on the first of January, 1942, ---

Q. (interjecting) '43. 2?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and that's all signed.

There was one amusing thing that happened to it. The original was, I think, typewritten in the State Department. And finally, on the first of January, 1942, came in -- the Ambassadors came in a great part of that day. We had two or three sessions. And we all signed up. And then a little later on Brazil and a couple of other countries signed, over in the Dining Room in the White House, which was all decorated with flags.

MR. GODWIN: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Is that right?

MR. EARLY: That was Mexico and the Philippines.

Q. Mexico and the Philippines.

THE PRESIDENT: Mexico and the Philippines.

That's where I got caught. Nobody caught on. The press was there, though.

And the British Ambassador was sitting on my right -- I mean the Brazilian Ambassador was sitting on my right, and the copy wasn't there! I delivered a speech, and then asked the signatory powers to sign. But there was nothing to sign. It was in the Department safe, and the keeper of the Department safe who knew the combination was out in Bethesda, which didn't help at all.

And I said all right, we haven't got the document for you to sign; and I wrote out longhand very simple words: we hereby approve and join in the document of the United Nations set up on the first of January last.

But before writing it, I looked for a pen, and there wasn't any pen! -- (laughter) -- because the pen wouldn't work -- didn't have any ink in it. It finally ended by my borrowing the pen -- I used really strong language -- luckily I wasn't on the air -- (more laughter) -- as to the lack of pens, and I borrowed the fountain pen of the Brazilian ---

Q. (interjecting) Mexican.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- Mexican Ambassador -- Najera, that's right. I think they have got that.

MR. EARLY: That's it.

Q. Mr. President, that Statement that was issued to the press said it was a Statement signed by yourself and by

the British Prime Minister. Is that literally not true, sir, that it was merely presented through you -- that it was not a document ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What Statement to the press?

Q. When the Atlantic Charter Statement was issued?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Issued through the White House.

THE PRESIDENT: It isn't a formal document. He has got a lot of his handwriting -- some of mine -- in it, and I don't know where it is now.

Q. I understand that, sir, but the caption on that Statement that we received said it was a Statement signed by yourself and the British Prime Minister. I was just trying to clarify whether that document actually had signatures on the bottom of it, or whether it did not?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think it's probable, in time, they will find some signatures -- documents and signatures. (laughter)

Q. The spirit still is there, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we all agreed on it, that's all I know. I have got some memoranda that were signed by the British Prime Minister, but it wasn't the complete document. It isn't considered signed by us both.

Q. My recollection is that the thing that came up to the Capitol said at the bottom, "Signed Roosevelt and Churchill."

THE PRESIDENT: It couldn't have. He went back

to England.

Q. The formal message of transmission, sir, I believe, said ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- that it was signed.

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, can you tell us ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) It was signed in substance. Now whether -- whether -----. There is no -- there is no formal document -- complete document -- signed by us both. There are memoranda to the -- to the people there and to the radio people.

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) Whether or not it was signed, you promulgated and stood for it, and you stand for it now?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And sent for the radio man and said put this on the air. That's all.

Q. Have you, since that time, Mr. President, wished that you had a formal document which was signed, sealed and attested?

THE PRESIDENT: No, except from the point of view of sightseers in Washington. I think that they will -- they will like to see it, perhaps not so much as the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States. Well, if you wanted to exhibit it, there isn't any good reason we can't.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-21 -- JR -- Page 56)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #985
Executive Office of the President
December 22, 1944 -- 11.10 a.m., e.w.t.

MAY CRAIG: (sitting down) Nobody got killed coming in today.

Q. Where's Earl (Godwin)?

Q. He's here.

Q. Here he is.

THE PRESIDENT: There he is!

MR. GODWIN: Merry Christmas!

MAY CRAIG: You got quite a class now.

THE PRESIDENT: Now the last guest has come. Go into dinner. (laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Before we have the rush for the door -- probably quiet -- it is better for me now to wish you a very Happy Christmas, all of you. Maybe you will all be here a year from now. That is not meant as a prognostication, but a simple statement of fact between gentlemen and ladies.

I don't think I have got anything at all. I could -- I could say this, that -- several people have asked me to do it -- those at home this Christmas, we can best help the Christmas season of the fighting men, whom we are thinking about a good deal these days, if we carry on our respective duties, doing those things that will contribute to winning the war as quickly as we can; and therefore I think we should resolve

to keep on the job and maintain the steady output of supplies that are needed by these fighting men on the front.

Outside of that I haven't got anything.

Q. Mr. President, the Chicago Sun had a story that you conferred with Chairman Hannegan down at Warm Springs, with a governmental position for Hannegan talked about. Can you prove that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I have any news on stories of that kind, Pete (Brandt).

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, if I can refer to this Christmas message, one of the -- one of the Congressmen who came back from the front, I think Overton of Louisiana, made this statement, a statement like this: that twice American forces had been so depleted or so shy of ammunition that it gave the Germans -- the enemy -- a chance to build up this particular drive. I may not have it exactly right, but ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) One of the other papers had it differently.

MR. GODWIN: Did you -- that was -- that was Overton's -- I didn't see it in a newspaper -- do you care to say anything about that, or anything related to it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. It depends a little bit on which Congressman you talked to.

MR. GODWIN: Sir?

THE PRESIDENT; It depends a little bit on which Congressman you talked to and which paper you write for.

Q. Mr. President, is there any announcement about

Mr. Henry Wallace's position after ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No, no.

Q. (continuing) --- the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Nothing at all.

Q. (continuing) --- inauguration?

THE PRESIDENT: Not at all.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about the war situation?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. It would only be an expression of one individual ---

Q. (interposing) You haven't anything ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- who doesn't know much more about it than the press has -- very little more. Of course, I get certain dispatches but nothing very recent -- the dispatches from Paris, I think it is; at least, they have that date-line. They are, I think, up to Tuesday or Wednesday, that's all.

Q. That's all that's in the morning papers, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes, yes.

Q. (continuing) --- up until Tuesday. I thought maybe you had something you could give us informally?

THE PRESIDENT: I have nothing further than that.

Q. Mr. President, have you had a chance to talk to Budget Director Smith?

THE PRESIDENT: Talked to him on the phone yesterday.

Q. Would you give us any idea of what the Budget is going to be? (the President shook his head)

Q. Mr. President, could you ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Of course, on the Budget, in a time of war, you must realize that you can make it up any one of a great many ways. You can make it up on the assumption that the war will last for six months, or that the war will last longer than that. And they are working on that now. The general -- the general picture will be that it has got to be that the war -- any assumption as to date is an impossible thing; and therefore it will be a budget that will contemplate the continuance of war until Germany is licked. And I am not -- I am not assuming now any more than I have before.

Q. Mr. President, do you contemplate saying anything in addition to your general Christmas greeting ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Not at all.

Q. (continuing) --- in your speech?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, on this budget matter, has this current German offensive changed the picture at all, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No. Just the same.

Q. (continuing) --- or the suppositions of what is ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) No, it hasn't changed my thought that I have had all along. I think I am about one of the few people that hasn't said when the war's going to be over.

Q. Mr. President, may I ask a question about the

Atlantic Charter which was discussed at our last press conference? It seems that recently a number of people have felt that we are losing the purposes, or that they are slipping away from us ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Again, it depends on which paper you read.

Q. Well, I would like to hear from the President and not merely from others. I would like to know what the President thinks about it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I ought to prepare something a little formal and think it over, but I will try it.

There are certain -- you might call them documents, because is a telegram a document? -- I don't know -- pronouncements, call it that, that in all history have been made. Some of them are of a good deal of importance, some of them do have an effect on -- on the thinking of a public towards objectives, and for a better world.

And the Atlantic Charter stands as an objective. A great many of the previous pronouncements that go back to many centuries, they have not been attained yet, and yet the objective is still just as good as it was when it was announced several thousand years ago.

And I think that the objective of the Atlantic Charter is just as sound, if you believe in that kind of objective -- some people don't, some people laugh at it -- just as valid as when it was announced in 1940 (meaning 1941).

There are a lot of people who say you can't attain

an objective or improvement in human life or in humanity, therefore why talk about it. Well, those people who come out for the Ten Commandments they will say we don't all live up to the Ten Commandments, which is perfectly true, but on the whole they are pretty good. It's something pretty good to shoot for. The Christian religion most of us in the room happen to belong to, we think it's pretty good. We certainly haven't attained it. Well, ---

Q. (interposing) Wasn't that ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- the Atlantic Charter is going to take its place, not -- not comparing it with the Christian religion or the Ten Commandments, but as a definite step, just the same way as Wilson's Fourteen Points constituted a major contribution to something we would all like to see happen in the world. Well, those Fourteen Points weren't all attained, but it was a step towards a better life for the population of the world.

And every -- every once in a while somebody comes forward with something else, and will in the future. It depends a little bit on how you are built.

Q. Mr. President, you -- did you mean to imply by that -- you didn't mean -- did you mean to imply by that that we are as far from attaining the ends of the Atlantic Charter as the world was a thousand years ago?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, No. Oh, No. The world goes a little bit by peaks and valleys, but on the whole the curve is upward; on the whole, the -- over these thousands of years

human life is on a great deal better scale than it was then. And we have got a long ways to go.

But things are better, and things are going to get better, if we work for it. There are some people who don't like to work for it -- some people in this room -- who are -- what will I say? -- congenitally "agin" that sort of thing. Well, that is part of the peaks and valleys.

Q. Mr. President, you spoke of 1940. Wasn't that 1941?

MR. GODWIN: 1941.

Q. The Atlantic Charter?

MR. GODWIN: August, wasn't it?

THE PRESIDENT: 1941, Yes. That's right.

MR. GODWIN: August, 1941.

Mr. President, the -- I think the important statement that you made, I was going to ask if you would permit a quotation of "just as valid as announced in 1941"?

THE PRESIDENT: (nodding) Yes. Well, that's all right.

Q. Mr. President, have there been any further developments toward a meeting between the Big Three?

THE PRESIDENT: Not yet. And -- and, by the way, when it is -- when it is made -- a development is made, you won't be told. (laughter)

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) There is such a thing known as security for a ship or for a plane, which we have to

maintain, as we have in the past. It would be vital about maintaining it when they have known about the fact that I had gone -- a pretty good guess as to which way I had gone would be the same thing.

MR. EARLY: Make that off the record.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That's off the record.

MR. GODWIN: Is there any chance of inviting or bringing, then, Mr. Stalin here, do you think?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That has to be off the record.

MR. GODWIN: That's all off the record, too?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Any steps been taken for quarterly meetings of Foreign Secretaries?

THE PRESIDENT: I never heard of it until I read about it in the paper.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything that could be said to further our understanding as to what has held up this meeting up to this point? Since you have said you were anxious to meet, Mr. Churchill has said the same thing.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, again, I have got to tell you off the record. It's largely a question of geography. There aren't three people in the same place. You can't hold a conference in several different places. There has got to be one place. That has to be off the record, too. In other words,

to find a place that three of us can go to.

Q. Does the fact that the Premier of Russia is also actively at the head of the armed forces have a bearing on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, Yes. Oh, Yes. Oh, all kinds of factors.

Q. Mr. President, Secretary of War Stimson said yesterday that the Germans have to be ready for a Russian attack at any time along the eastern front. The diplomatic circles are quoted here in Washington as having said that the Russians have already assured us of a winter offensive very soon. I wonder if you would comment on any of that?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I couldn't. Now you're getting into tactics -- strategy -- the military end.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us something about your talks with Senators Pepper and Guffey the other day?

THE PRESIDENT: Very nice talk. On the telephone. It was on the telephone.

Q. Mr. President, what did you tell them that persuaded them to change their minds about the projected filibuster?

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) I don't know. I haven't got any news on a thing like that.

Q. Are you going to meet with that group -- do you expect to meet with that group after the first of the year when the new Congress comes in?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't the faintest idea.

JIM WRIGHT: Mr. President, there has been some discussion of a joint chiefs of staff for political and economic questions, similar to the joint chiefs of staff for military questions. Is there anything comparable to that in contemplation?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that was a columnist suggested that, wasn't it? It was a columnist, that's right.

JIM WRIGHT: I am not a columnist. I wrote about it.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. They are -- all we can say is that they are with us, an unnecessary excrescence on our civilization. Excuse me. (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: Well, Mr. President, -- (more laughter) -- but, Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) For the reason, May, ---

MAY CRAIG: (interposing) But you got one in the family! (loud laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) Yes, that's true. That's different. (continued laughter) Very good -- very good. That's perfectly true, May, but it's a little bit different. In the -- mostly it's a diary. (Mrs. Roosevelt's "My Day") (more laughter)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Goodbye.

(continued laughter)